



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Rank. 4. 523.

ON
THE AINDRA SCHOOL OF SANSKRIT
GRAMMARIANS

THEIR PLACE IN THE SANSKRIT AND
SUBORDINATE LITERATURES

BY

A. C. BURNELL, Ph. D.

Saktum iva tita-unā punanto yatra dhīrā manasā vācam akrata |
atra.....bhadrai 'shām laxmīr nihitā 'dhi vāci || R. V. x., 71, 2.



MANGALORE


BASEL MISSION BOOK & TRACT DEPOSITORY

LONDON
Trübner & Co.

1875

BASEL
Missions-Buchhandlung

PRINTED BY STOLZ & HIRNER,
BASEL MISSION PRESS, MANGALORE.

N enquiry into the beginnings and history of Sanskrit Grammar is in itself an interesting subject, and has always been considered of importance since Profr. von Roth first opened the way¹⁾, but it is at present imperatively necessary for several reasons, that something should be attempted, even if success be doubtful, and this must be my excuse for the present attempt.

Perhaps few will now assent to the late Profr. Goldstücker's claim on behalf of the Vedic commentators that they did not content themselves with copying their predecessors, but that they endeavoured to show "that the interpretations which they give are consistent with the grammatical requirements of the language itself"²⁾. But whatever may be the value of the commentators application of Sanskrit Grammar to the interpretation of texts, the oldest treatises on that subject are the only remaining monuments of an important stage in the development of the Sanskrit language³⁾. It is thus indispensable to the history of Indian thought, that it should be determined as ac-

1) By his "Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Weda" published in 1846. Since then our knowledge of this subject has been advanced in many ways by Weber, Benfey, Max Müller, Whitney, Regnier, Goldstücker, Kielhorn, Eggeling and others whose works I have quoted on nearly every page, and without which I could not have attempted this enquiry. Equally am I indebted to Senart's Pischel's and D'Alwis's works on Pali and Prakrit Grammar.

2) "Pāṇini's Place" (sep. imp.), p. 243.

3) Benfey ("Einleitung in die Grammatik der Vedischen Sprache" p. 3) says: "Dürfen wir unbedenklich die, wenn auch ziemlich grell klingende, Antithese aussprechen, dass uns von den Indern... auf der einen Seite die wunderbarste Sprache ohne eine sich auf sie stützende Grammatik hinterlassen ist, auf der andern dagegen die wunderbarste Grammatik ohne die Sprache, auf welche sie gestützt ist."

IV

curately as possible, what is the condition of these texts, and under what influences they have been altered, if it cannot be assumed that they have been preserved intact. It then remains to see what principles guided the authors in their work.

Without a preliminary determination of these points it appears to me hazardous to use this great branch of Sanskrit literature as a means to solve historical problems, or for philological purposes. I have here attempted a new way of considering the problem—by examining what were the system and technical terms used before Pāṇini wrote his great work. It is well known that he was not the first, though he was the greatest of Indian grammarians, and chance having led me to discover a treatise which is said to be of the Aindra School, I soon found that the differences between the schools of Sanskrit Grammar must depend rather on system than on matter, and applying the scanty information which the Tolkāppiyam gave me, to the Sanskrit texts, I found that a number of hitherto unplaced works must represent the system or systems current before Pāṇini, though they cannot be in an intact condition. It cannot be for a moment supposed that Pāṇini's numerous predecessors did not differ in details of system, as well as in details of doctrine, but I think that, for the reasons I have given in this monograph, they all constitute a class which may be termed the Aindra School, as they agree among themselves in a marked way and equally differ from Pāṇini, as regards their system.

The historical value of Sanskrit texts being yet undetermined, I have thought it necessary to enquire briefly into this question, and have given my reasons for trusting, so far, the texts of grammatical works. This should logically come first, but briefly as I have treated the matter, it fills several pages, so I have put it as Appendix A.

The question I have enquired into in the first part, also requires an historical solution; a beginning is attempted in Appendix B.

Such enquiries as these are not only more necessary now than before, but are also possible at last. If the recollection of 1875 be rendered mournful to philologists by the loss of Ewald, Corsen, Bleek and Ebel, this year has seen the completion of grand works such as have never been done before—Böhtlingk and Roth's Sanskrit Dictionary and its necessary complement—Childers' Pali Dictionary. With these books at hand, Indian philologists must, and can, entertain larger views, and exercise a more fruitful activity than they have, as yet, ventured to do.

Tanjore,

1st November 1875.

A. B.



Transliteration.



For Sanskrit, I have used the system that I have always followed, and which is very near that used for Pali by Fausböll.

For Tamil, I have used the following:

a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ē, e (long), ō, o (long), ai, au.

k (k), ṅ; ś (ṣ), ṇ; ṭ (ḍ), ṇ; ṭ (ṭ), ṇ; p (b), m; y, r, l, v, ḷ, ḷ, ṛ, ṛ.



CONTENTS.

	Page
The eight Schools of Sanskrit Grammar according to Vopadeva (12th century),	
Indra's being the first	1

I.

	Page
References to, and legends about the Aindra Grammar from later up to earlier times	2
Sanskrit, Kathāsaritsāgara	"
Bṛhatkathā	3
Chinese, Hiouen-Thsang	"
Yen-Thsong	4
Buddhist, Avadānagataka	5
Tibetan, Bu-ston	"
Tāranātha	"
Brāhmaṇa, quoted by Śāyana	6
Later allusions of uncertain date.	

II.

Identification of the Aindra Grammar.

The Tamiḥ Tolkāppiyam is of this School	8
Comparison of its arrangement with the Kātantra and Kaccāyana's Grammar	9
Division of Words into 4 classes in these Treatises	12
Technical Terms in these Treatises	14
Aindra Terms used in Pāṇini, etc.	19
The Prāñcāḥ (Grammarians)	24
Grammatical Terms in later Vedic Literature	26
The Aindra Grammar includes all Treatises anterior to Pāṇini's	31
List of old Grammarians	32
Characteristics of Aindra Grammar	34
Vopadeva knew of and used the Kātantra, but did not mention it in his list; it is therefore included in the Aindra School	37

III.

Pāṇini's Innovations.

Circumstances under which Pāṇini's Grammar was probably composed	38
i. His Invention of the Ḫiva Sūtras	39
ii. His new System of Anubandhas	40
iii. His technical Terms	41
iv. His technical Style and logical Method	42
His Life is mythical	44

VIII

IV.

	Page
List of Aindra Treatises in the Sanskrit and derived Literatures.	
i. Sanskrit	45
a. Śixās	"
b. Prāṭiśākhya	48
c. Yāska's Nirukta	50
d. 1. Kātantra, etc.	51
2. Mugdhabodha, etc.	53
e. Grammars of Foreign Languages drawn up on the (Sanskrit) Aindra System:	
A. Tamil	55
B. Canarese	57
C. Tibetan	58
ii. a. Pālī Grammars	60
b. Grammars drawn up on the Pālī Model	
A. Singhalese Grammar	63
B. Burmese Grammar, etc.	"

APPENDIX A.

How far can the Grammatical Texts in Sanskrit be used for historical research?	67
--	----

APPENDIX B.

The Systems of Sanskrit Grammarians in dealing with the fictitious words and terms of their art	111
---	-----



ON THE AINDRA GRAMMAR.

MUCH attention has been paid to the Sanskrit Grammars of late years, as perhaps the most remarkable part of the Indian literature excluding the Vedas¹⁾; but, as yet, little has been done to investigate the relations of the several acknowledged schools of grammarians, or to show their historical connexion.

Eight different schools of Grammar are commonly mentioned in India²⁾. Of these, Pāṇini's system has long superseded all others; Ākaṭāyana's and Jinendra's are still known by existing MSS.; Candra (-gomin)'s Grammar exists in a Tibetan version³⁾, and four other schools (of Indra, Kāçakṛitsna, Āpiçali and Amara) are known by name or by an occasional quotation. Students of Sanskrit literature must have long ago remarked that this enumeration is apparently defective, as there is a large amount of grammatical literature (*e.g.* the Prātiçākhyas), existing in that language which cannot apparently be brought under any one of these schools, and must, thus, have been led to question the value of Vopadeva's statement; but I hope to be able to show here that this is not to be done. Of all the eight

1) Because (as far as we know) it is independent. *v.* Max Müller's "Ancient Sanskrit Literature" pp. 158, fig. Aufrecht's "Uṇādi Sūtras" p. viii.

2) By Vopadeva (18th century), "Dhātupāṭha" (Introd. çl. 2.)

Indraç Candraḥ Kāçakṛitsn-Āpiçali Ākaṭāyanaḥ |

Pāṇiny-Amara-Jainendra jayanty aṣṭā 'digābdikāḥ ||

This was first noticed by Colebrooke ("Essays", orig. ed. ii., p. 89). Vopadeva's date (12th century) is well known. (Aufrecht, "Catalogus" p. 174 b. etc.) Westergaard ("Radios Linguae Sanskritae" p. v.) puts him a little earlier but in the same century. He is said to have lived at Devagiri in the Deccan.

Durgācārya, in his commentary on Yāska (i., 20), says: "Vyākaraṇam aṣṭadhā". I am unable to fix his date, but his style is modern.

3) To be found in the "Tandjur" (Bstan-hgyur); see Schiefner's article "Ueber die logischen und grammatischen Werke im Tandjur" (in "Bulletin de la classe des sciences historiques et de l' Académie Impériale des sciences de Saint-Petersbourg". iv. col. 294). No. 3604. "Candravyākaraṇasūtranāma. Lun-du ston-pa çandra-pa'i mdo ñes-bya-va, in 6 capiteln." This was in sūtras as quotations by Xīrasvāmin and others show. It is said to approach Pāṇini's school. I should remark that the better known Grammar by Hemacandra (12th century) appears to be quoted occasionally as the Candra Grammar.

schools of Grammar already mentioned, that of Indra is the one which apparently is most open to doubt; the older grammarians (I believe) never mention the Aindra Grammar, and hence, the frequent references to it in other works seem questionable. I shall here give reasons for believing that the Aindra was the oldest school of the Sanskrit Grammarians; that Aindra treatises were actually known to, and quoted by Pāṇini and others; and that Aindra treatises still exist in the *Prātiçākhyas*, *Kātantra* and similar works, though they have been partly recast and corrected.

Firstly, I shall collect such references to the Aindra Grammar as I have been able to find, from the more recent up to the older Sanskrit literature, and in Chinese and Tibetan texts.

I.

In the twelfth century, besides the passage of Vopadeva, already quoted, we have a legend in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva of Cashmere. In this collection of stories, Kātyāyana the grammarian relates¹⁾ that Varsha had a great many pupils among whom was Pāṇini, who was a sad dunce, and lazy in the service due to his teacher and his wife. Varsha's wife accordingly dismissed him, but he (the story runs) "grieved and desirous of knowledge went for penance to the Himalaya." There, "a new Grammar introductory to all science" was obtained by him from Induçekhara (Çiva) pleased by his stern austerity. "Having returned from thence, he challenged me (*i. e.* Kātyāyana) to a dispute, and seven days passed since the disputation of us two began. On the eighth day, he being conquered by me, at once a fearful noise was made by Çambhu in the sky. Thus my Aindra Grammar was destroyed on the

1) Ed. Brockhaus, I., p. 31 (Tar. iv., 20-25). This passage has already been quoted by Goldstücker and others.

Atha kālena Varshasya çishyavargo mahān abhūt |
 tatral 'kaḥ Pāṇinir nāma jaḍabuddhitaro 'bhavat ||
 sa çuçrūshāparikliaṣṭaḥ preṣhito Varshabhāryayā |
 agacchat tapase khinno vidyākāmo Himālayam ||
 tatra tivreṇa tapasā toshitād Induçekharāt |
 sarvavidyāmukham tena prāptam vyākaraṇam navam ||
 tataç oḥ 'gatya mam eva vādāyā 'hvayate sma saḥ |
 pravṛtite oḥ 'vayor vāde prayātāḥ sapta vāsarāḥ ||
 aṣṭame 'hni mayā tasmin jite tatsamanantaram |
 nabhaḥsthena mahāghoro hūmkāraḥ Çambhunā kṛtaḥ ||
 tena pranāṣṭam Aindram tad aśmadvyākaraṇam bhuvi |
 jītāḥ Pāṇinnīa sarve mūrkhībhūtā vayam punaḥ ||

earth; we all conquered by Pāṇini became stupid again." The story is an absurd one, and is useful only to show that an Aindra school of grammar was known in the 10th century and that it was said to have been superseded by Pāṇini's. It can, however, be traced back to a far older work, the "Bṛīhatkathāmañjarī" (from which the "Kathāsaritsāgara" was compiled) of which I discovered some MSS. at Tanjore in 1871, and Dr. Bühler another (in 1872) in Gujarat¹). Every feature of the story, as already told, is to be found here²). The date of the Bṛīhatkathāmañjarī is uncertain, but it must be some centuries older than the Kathāsaritsāgara which belongs to the beginning of the twelfth century A. D.³)

Hiouen-Thsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, who travelled in India from 629-645 A. D., mentions the town of Ālātura as being distinguished as Pāṇini's native place, and relates a story not quite unlike what has just been given. He says: "Dans la haute antiquité, les mots de la langue étaient extrêmement nombreux; mais quand le monde eut été détruit, l'univers se trouva vide et désert. Des dieux d'une longévité extraordinaire descendirent sur la terre pour servir de guides aux peuples. Telle fut l'origine des lettres et des livres. A partir de cette époque, leur source s'agrandit et dépassa les bornes. Le dieu Fan (Brahmā) et le roi du ciel (Indra) établirent des règles et se conformèrent au temps. Des Rīchis hérétiques composèrent chacun des mots. Les hommes les prirent pour modèles, continuèrent leur œuvre, et travaillèrent à l'envi pour en conserver la tradition; mais les étudiants faisaient de vains efforts, et il leur était difficile d'en approfondir le sens. A l'époque où la vie des hommes était réduite à cent ans, on vit paraître le Rīchi Po-ni-ni (Pāṇini), qui était instruit dès sa naissance et possédait un vaste savoir. Affligé de l'ignorance du siècle, il voulut retrancher les notions vagues et fausses, débarasser la langue des mots superflus et en fixer les lois. Comme il voyageait pour faire des recherches et s'instruire, il rencontra le dieu Tseu-thsaï (Īṣvara Dēva), et lui exposa

1) "Academy" for 15th Sept. 1871, p. 447. *Indian Antiquary* I., p. 302 ff.

2) The text runs (Tanjore, 4880; Upakoṣācaritam, gl. 8 ff.):

Vyāṇendradattasahite sarvajñe mayi viṣṭute |
Pāṇinir nāma Varshasya śishyaḥ sarvajadācṛayaḥ ||
tapasā Ṣaṃkarāt prāpya navam vyākaraṇam vaṇi |
dināny aṣṭāu vivāde me 'prativādisamo 'bhavat ||
mayā jñte tatas tasmin hūmkāreṇa vimohayan |
jahāra * * * * pād ai(n)dravyākaraṇasmṛitīm ||

(°paismṛi° MS. a reading which shows that this is a S. Indian MS.). No. 10.231 has the missing syllables supplied by a second hand—no Haraḥ ko(pād).

3) "Kathāsaritsāgara" Ed. Brockhaus, I., p. viii.

le plan de l'ouvrage qu'il méditait. "A merveille! lui dit le dieu Tseu-thsai; 'vous pouvez compter sur mon secours'. Après avoir reçu ses instructions, le Rîchi se retira. Il se livra alors à des recherches profondes, et déploya toute la vigueur de son esprit. Il recueillit une multitude d'expressions, et composa un livre de mots¹⁾ qui renfermait mille çlōkas; . . . cet ouvrage est encore . . . en grand honneur"²⁾.

Again in the life of Hiouen-Thsang (by his contemporaries Hoëi-Li and Yen-Thsong) in the account of the learned monk's study of Sanskrit at the convent of Nālanda, we find the following: "Il étudia à la fois les livres des Brāhmanes et l'ouvrage appelé Ki-lun, qui traite des caractères Fan de l'Inde. Leur origine se perd dans l'antiquité, et personne ne sait qui les a inventés. Au commencement des Kalpas, le roi Fan (Brahmā) les expliqua le premier, et les transmit aux Dēvas et aux hommes. Comme ces caractères furent expliqués par Brahmā, on les appela pour cette raison Fan-chou ou Écriture de Brahmā. Le texte primitif était fort étendu et embrassait un million de çlōkas. C'est l'ouvrage qu'on appelait anciennement Pi-kia-lo-lun; mais cette prononciation est incorrecte. Pour être exact, il faut dire Pi-ye-kie-la-nan (Vyākaraṇam), mot que l'on traduit par Ching-ming-ki-lun (Traité mnémonique pour la connaissance des sons). On lui a donné ce nom, parce qu'il renferme, d'une manière fort étendue, toutes les règles de la langue, et sert à les expliquer avec clarté. Dans l'antiquité, au commencement du Kalpa parfait (Siddhakalpa?), le roi Fan (Brahmā) fut le premier à l'expliquer; il comprenait alors un million de çlōkas. Ensuite, au commencement du Kalpa stationnaire (Sthitakalpa?), Ti-chi (Indra) l'abrégea et le rédigea en cent mille çlōkas. Enfin, dans le royaume de Gandhara, de l'Inde du Nord, un brāhmane nommé le Rîchi Po-ni-ni (Pāṇini), de la ville de Tou-lo (Çālātura), l'abrégea encore et le rédigea en huit mille çlōkas. C'est l'ouvrage qui est maintenant en usage dans l'Inde. Dans ces derniers temps, un brāhmane l'abrégea encore, à la demande d'un roi de l'Inde du Sud où il était né, et le rédigea en deux mille cinq cents çlōkas. Cette édition est fort répandue dans les royaumes des frontières; mais les savants de l'Inde ne la suivent point."³⁾

1) Profr. Max Müller has identified this (in Chinese Tseu-chou, "un livre de caractères") with "Çabdānuṣāsanam" the real title of Pāṇini's work. (A. S. Lit. p. 806, n.)

2) "Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales" by St. Julien I., pp. 125-7.

3) "Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang" by St. Julien pp. 165-6.

A brief summary of the grammatical system of Pāṇini follows, which is so correct as to show conclusively that the previous passage (given above) may be taken as a fair statement of the Indian notions regarding the origin of the science of grammar as they passed current in the 7th century A. D.

Again the Buddhist canonical works of the North mention the Indra Grammar; in the *Avadānaśataka* it is stated that Āṣaripuṭra learned it as a boy.¹⁾

In the literature of Tibet, which consists almost exclusively of servile translations of the Sanskrit canonical books known to the Buddhists of N. India in the seventh and following centuries and of compilations from that source, the *Indra Grammar* is mentioned more than once. Bu-ston states that the first grammar was composed by Sarvajñāna (i. e. Āiva), but this never came to Jambudvīpa. Then Indra compiled the *Indravṃkāraṇa* which Brīhaspati studied. This was current in Jambudvīpa, but was surpassed by Pāṇini's work²⁾.

Tāranātha (a Tibetan Lama) compiled in 1608 A. D. a very remarkable history of Buddhism in India, in which he, more than once, alludes to the *Indra Grammar*, and though the information he gives is clearly secondary, it substantially agrees with what the Sanskrit authors tell us. In his account of Pāṇini (whom he makes out to have lived under Nanda or in the fourth century B. C.), he states that though it is said in Tibet that the *Indravṃkāraṇa* is earlier, this must be held of the region of the gods, and not of Āryadeśa. He adds that Pandits say that the *Candra-vṃkāraṇa* agrees with Pāṇini's, and the *Kalāpa* with the *Indra Grammar*³⁾.

Again in another place, Tāranātha, after relating a legend about the snake-king Āesha's explanation of Pāṇini's work (a legend I have often heard in S. India), goes on to relate that a Brahman named Saptavarman⁴⁾ asked Shanmukha (or Kārttikeya) to reveal to him the *Indra Grammar*, on which the god began: "Siddho varṇasamāmnāyaḥ," and Saptavarman

1) Barnouf "Introduction" i., p. 456 "à seize ans il avait lu la grammaire d' Indra et vaincu tous ceux qui disputaient avec lui." ofr. Lassen's I. A—K. ii., (2nd ed.) p. 477. On the period of this rather late (secondary or Mahāyāna) work see Wassiljew's "Der Buddhismus" p. 332.

2) Wassiljew in Schiefner's translation of Tāranātha's Tibetan History of Indian Buddhism, p. 294.

3) Tāranātha's History of Indian Buddhism, p. 43 (Tibetan text) and p. 54 (of Schiefner's German translation).

4) The Sanskrit MSS. appear to have Sarvavarman, but Tāranātha expressly states that this is wrong, as also Īṣṭavarman.

thereon at once comprehended all the rest. This Sūtra is actually the first of the Kātantra (or Kalāpa grammar), and this grammar is certainly of the Aindra school. Tāranātha makes Saptavarman a contemporary of Kālidāsa and Nāgārjuna¹⁾. In another place a Brahman named Indradhruva is said to have had this grammar revealed to him, and that it contained 25,000 ślokaś²⁾.

The miraculous part of all these legends may be fairly put down to the theological nature of the civilization prevailing at the times the several authors wrote or compiled their books. That Tāranātha had really historical records at his disposal is shown by Profr. Wassiljew in the preface to his Russian translation of Tāranātha³⁾.

When we get to the centuries before our era, with one remarkable exception, all mention of the Indra Grammar appears to be wanting. In the third section of this paper, I shall show that Pāṇini really quotes this grammar (or rather school of grammarians) under the name of the prāñcaḥ (teachers); but the only direct mention of the Indra Grammar in the old Sanskrit literature that I can find, is in a quotation by Sāyaṇa from a Brāhmaṇa as yet not identified. This mentions Indra as the original grammarian⁴⁾.

So much for references which can be shown to be trustworthy, and to belong to tolerably certain periods of Indian history. There are other allusions but of uncertain date and value; such as: "Aindri vāg iva" in the Bhojacampū (of the 16th century), and "Yathārtham padam Aindrānām" in Durgācārya's Niruktavṛitti.

The commentary on the Sārasvatavyākaraṇa also mentions Indra as the first grammarian⁵⁾.

"Indrādayo 'pi yasyā 'ntam na yayuḥ ṣabdavāridheḥ |
prakriyāntasya kṛtsnasya xamo vaktum naraḥ katham" ||

1) u. s. pp. 60 and 75 respectively.

2) u. s. pp. 58 and 66. Wassiljew's "Der Buddhismus," p. 58, n.

3) Also translated separately into German by Schiefner. It is necessary to remark that the Tibetan has Tāranātha, and not Tārānātha as one would expect.

4) It occurs in Sāyaṇa's introduction to his commentary on the R̥g-Veda (vol. i., p. 35, ed. Max Müller) and runs: "Vāg vai parācy avyākṛitā 'vadat te devā indram abruvann imām no vācam vyākurv iti | so 'bravīd varam vṛṇai mahyam cai 'vai 'sha vāyave ca saha gṛihyātā iti tasmād aindravāyavaḥ saha pragṛihyate | tām indro madhyato 'vakramya vyākaroḥ | tasmād iyam vyākṛitā vāg udyata iti." | Sāyaṇa understands this to refer to grammatical analysis of words, which is the obvious meaning.

5) Bombay edition, śloka 2.

These references are to the old original Aindra Grammar, but there are others which appear to refer to a modern Indra or Jaine-'ndra (as he appears to have been called to distinguish him from the god Indra the supposed author of the Aindra Grammar), who lived some time before the 12th century A. D. Vopadeva, it should be remarked, places him the last of the eight grammarians he mentions¹⁾.

Thus, the references in Jain books to a grammarian named Indra appear to refer to this grammar. For example, the actual grammatical text-book of the Jains which passes under the name of *Çakaṭāyana*, quotes the opinion of an Indra; the commentary (by Yazavarman) explains this name by Indra Ācārya, and this is the author of the Jainendra Grammar, in all probability, as he teaches what is directed by this rule²⁾.

The age and authenticity of this *Çakaṭāyanavyākaraṇa* are as yet undetermined. Profr. Bühler³⁾ considers it to be the real work that Pāṇini quotes; but the late Profr. Goldstücker was always in doubt about it⁴⁾. If I may express an opinion, it is (as I hope to show) a comparatively modern recast of an old work. Yazavarman the commentator on the *Çakaṭāyana* Grammar also mentions an Indra in his preface: "Indracandrā-dibhiḥ çābdair yad uktam çābdalaxaṇam"; but the age of this author is not known, and this *çloka* is evidently a copy of Vopadeva's statement.

To multiply these allusions (as I believe could be done), would be of no use; for the decisive passages I have quoted, which are from books of widely different times and sects, Brahmanical and Buddhist, and from different parts of India, show that there once existed a Sanskrit Grammar known as the Indra Grammar, and that it was said to have been superseded by the work of Pāṇini; also that it was reputed to have been the earliest Sanskrit Grammar. Indian legends are historically worthless,

1) This Jinendra is perhaps quoted by Ujvaladatta in his Commentary on the *Uṇādi Sūtras* (Pāṇinīya). He must have lived about 1250 A. D. See Aufrecht's edition, p. xiv.

2) l. 2, 37 "Jarāyā nās Indrasyā 'oi". C. Jarāçābdasya tatsambandhiny anyasambandhini vā ajādaḥ supi pare Indrasyā 'oāryasya matena nāsādeḥ bhavati | jarasau jarasaḥ | etc." The Jainendra Grammar (p. 21 of Madras MS. 1461) has jarāyā nās. This passage has been kindly found for me by my friend Profr. Oppert. That the *Çakaṭāyana* Grammar quotes Āryavajra and Indra (and these only as far as I have seen) was first pointed out by Dr. Bühler, but without mentioning the place ("Orient und Occident", iii. p. 182). Is this Jinendra the author of the "Nyāsa" a pañjikā on the *Kāçikāvyākṛitti* which is also cited by Vopadeva? (Colebrooke's "Essays" II., p. 40.)

3) "Orient und Occident" II., pp. 691 ff.

4) "Pāṇini's Place" p. 153 n. The doubts he expressed hesitatingly here, he stated much more fully in conversations with me in 1869 and 1870.

but the passages I have quoted show that at several distant parts of India, and at remote dates such a book did exist, and that Vopadeva did not retail some idle fiction in mentioning an Aindra School of Grammar. This fact having been ascertained, it is now possible to follow up the clues which I have found to the determination of the works belonging to this school, and to trace their general characteristics.

II.

The fact that an Indra Grammar was commonly reported in India and elsewhere to have preceded that by Pāṇini, early attracted my attention¹⁾, and for several years I had diligent search made for this important work in all parts of S. India. It is needless to say that I had MSS. described to me with great detail, and more than once; but not even a line was ever produced, and after some years waiting, I almost made up my mind that the Aindra Grammar was one of the fictions so common in India, and gave up the search. I then turned to the grammars of the so-called Dravidian languages, which, as they are often of considerable age and imitations of Sanskrit works would, I hoped, throw some light on the schools of Sanskrit grammar; I soon found that the Tamiḷ and Canarese grammars had the same technical terms as the Prātiçākhyas, Kātantra, and some others; and as it is the oldest Tamiḷ grammar and, therefore, the oldest of the kind in S. India, I turned to the Tolkāppiyam, as it seemed likely to furnish the best information. Like all classical Tamiḷ works, this grammar has a preface by a contemporary of the author, in this case one Panambaran, who certifies (as I found to my surprise) that the "ainḍira-niṛainḍa-tolkāppiyam", i.e. "Tolkāppiyam full of (or according to) the Aindra (system)" was read in Pāṇḍiyan's (i.e. the Madura king's) assembly, and approved by Aṣaṅkōṭṭāṣāṇ²⁾. The author, Tolkāppiyam, was a Buddhist or Jain, and is unquestionably one of the oldest Tamiḷ authors. The earliest commentator on this grammar, Naṣṣinārkinīyar, was also originally a Buddhist, but became a convert to the Çaiva doctrine. It is thus impossible to put the original text much later than the eighth century; for by the tenth century the whole Pāṇḍiya kingdom

1) I first found this fact stated in Profr. Weber's "Indische Literaturgeschichte" p. 187 n.

2) "Tolkāppiyam", edited by Maṃālinīyāyar, (Madras, çāl. ç. 1770 4^o.) p. 1. My discovery of this clue was announced in the *Academy* early in 1874. (Vol. V.)

had fallen under the orthodox Coṣas. There is nothing to throw doubt on these statements which could have been made for no possible reason if untrue. This discovery at once clears up a difficulty in the Indian accounts of the Sanskrit Schools of Grammar by bringing the hitherto unclassified works (which I have already mentioned) into their place. It also enables one to trace out the chief characteristics of this Aindra School. To do this, I shall now compare the arrangement and technical words of the Tolkāppiyam with those of the Kātantra, Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar¹⁾, and the Prātiçākhyas. I shall first show that the general arrangement of all is much the same. This may be termed the natural arrangement as opposed to the artificial arrangement of Pāṇini. In the latest grammars which re-arrange Pāṇini's matter in much the same way²⁾, we see, probably, a reversion to the simpler and older system. The first two sections³⁾ of the Tolkāppiyam only are of interest here, and owing to the limited scope of the Prātiçākhyas⁴⁾ it is only possible to compare some of the technical terms used in them with those of the other more extensive grammars. I shall occasionally refer to the Nannūl also. This is the most commonly used Tamiḷ grammar, and is a professed recast and expansion, in some respects, of the Tolkāppiyam, but with more Sanskrit terms and close reference to the Kātantra. The date of its composition is apparently some centuries after the Tolkāppiyam, and also after the fall of the great Tamiḷ kingdoms in the 14th century A. D.

That the arrangement of the Kātantra, Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar, and the Tolkāppiyam is really the same will be seen by the following comparative table:

1) The close connection between Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar and the Kātantra was noticed first by J. d'Alwis and E. Kuhn ("Kaccāyanappakarāṇae Specimen", pp. 19-21). cfr. Senart's edition of the Pāli Grammar, p. 2, and Weber's "Indische Streifen" ii., p. 324. I do not find that any one noticed the connection between the Kātantra and the Prātiçākhyas etc.

2) The Prakriyākaumudī and Siddhāntakaumudī.

3) The whole comprises three sections: the first contains phonetics and sandhi; the second forms and syntax; the third comprises rhetoric and prosody.

4) Cfr. Goldstücker (in the "Academy" vol. i., p. 270): "The Prātiçākhyas, therefore, are not grammars; for grammars have to deal with the etymon of words and with the whole range of linguistic facts, but they are *grammatical works*, in the sense in which this term is commonly applied to works dealing with grammatical subjects in general, or some grammatical topic in particular, for they must teach the phonetic changes which padas undergo." See also Prof. Whitney's remarks (Ath. pr. p. 249).

Tolkāppiyam	Kātantra	Kaccāyana
A. Eluttāḍiyāram	Sandhi-prakarāṇa	Sandhi-kappa
(Letters)		
§1. Description of Alphabet, enumeration of letters, and classes of letters. 2. Peculiar letters. 3. Pronunciation. 4. Sandhi. 5. Do. 6. Sandhi of case terminations in nouns. 7. Sandhi of final vowels. 8. Do. consonants. 9. Do. shortened u.	§1. Description of Alphabet, enumeration of letters, and classes of letters. 2. Sandhi of vowels. 3. Exceptions. 4. Sandhi of consonants. 5. Do. h etc.	§1. Description of Alphabet, enumeration of letters, and classes of letters. 2. Sandhi of vowels. 3. Exceptions. 4. Sandhi of niggahitam ¹⁾ . 5. Sandhi of prepositions.
B. ii. Sōllaḍiyāram	Nāmacatusṣṭaya etc.	Nāma-kappa etc.
(Words)		
1. General. 2. Cases and their meanings. 3. Substitution of cases. 4. Vocative case. 5. Of nouns (pēyarššōl).	1. Technical terms for cases; terminations; inflection. 2. Do. 3. Pronouns. 4. Kāraka. 5. Samāsa. 6. Taddhita.	1. Case terminations and inflection of nouns. 2. Pronouns etc. 3. Irregular nouns. 4. 5. Substitutes for cases, degrees of comparison. 6. Kāraka. 7. Samāsa. 8. Taddhita.
C.	Ākhyātaprakarāṇa	Ākhyāta-kappa
6. Verbs (vinaiššōl).	1. Voices; tenses etc. 2. Classes of verbs etc. 3. Reduplication etc. 4. Samprasāraṇa. 5. Guṇa. 6. Anuśaṅga. 7. Idāgama. 8.	1. Voices; tenses; person endings. 2. Classes of verbs. 3. Reduplication; irregular verbs. 4.
	Kṛit-affixes	Kṛita-kappa
There are no such formations in Tamīl.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. Alam, khalu etc.	1. Kṛit-affixes. 2. 3. 4. 5.
D.		
7. On particles (idaiššōl)		
E.		
8. Peculiar words (uriššōl)		
9. Construction etc.		

1) "Grammaire Palie" (Minayeff) p. 49. "bindu niggahitam"; "Kaccāyana" (by Senart), p. 10.

It is obvious that the arrangement of all these grammars is simple and natural. First (A) come phonetics and an elaborate description of the alphabet, a feature of the *Prātiçākhyas* also. Next come the four parts of speech treated in order (B. C. D. E.) and in a simple manner compared with the elaborate and intricate plan of *Pāṇini*. The identity of the plans of the *Kātantra* and *Kaccāyana* needs no illustration; the *Tolkāppiyam* varies (as regards E.) owing to the impossibility of arranging the *Tamiḷ* elements in exactly the same way as the *Sanskrit*, *Prakrit* or *Pāli*, and as the *uriššöl* words constitute an artificial class.

The arrangement of the *Pāṇiniya* Grammar in eight books is as follows:

I. Technical terms; special use of the numbers; *ekaṣeṣha*; rules of interpretation of the *sūtras*; use of the *Ātmanepada* and *Parasmaipada*; explanation of technical terms.

II. *Samāsa*; use of cases; affixes.

III., IV., V. Affixes which form verbs and nouns.

VI., VII. Augment and reduplication; accent; inflection.

VIII. Special rules; rules of euphony¹⁾.

The Grammars which now bear the names of *Çākaṭāyana* and *Jinendra*²⁾, though in fewer chapters, follow the same highly artificial plan which is intended to economise space, and reduce the *sūtras* to the narrowest possible limits.

Thus the *Aindra* Grammars are on a simpler and more natural plan which is understood at first sight, while *Pāṇini's* Grammar is, except to the initiated, in hopeless confusion³⁾.

If the arrangements of the matter in the *Aindra* and *Pāṇiniya* Grammars differ widely, still more so do the technical terms. In the former these are ordinary words for the most part, though used with a somewhat special meaning. In the latter they are nearly all highly artificial abbreviations or letters used with a particular conventional value assigned

1) For a more detailed account see Böhlingk's edition of *Pāṇini*, vol. ii., pp. xxiv-xxxvi.

2) Dr. Bühler has already pointed out the existence of these two grammars in "Orient und Occident", vol. ii., p. 182. The *Jinendra* Grammar is among the *Leyden MSS.* at *Madras*, and is a *Jain MS.* Of *Çākaṭāyana* there are fragments in the same collection, and a complete copy of the text and *Uṇādisūtras* (in the *Malayālam* character) among the *MSS.* I presented to the *India Office Library* in 1870. I have since procured other complete *MSS.* of the text, commentary etc., which I have used here. All these are *Jain MSS.* from the *Canarese* country.

3) See *Colebrooke's* remarks, "Essays", ii., pp. 5-8. Note especially *P. viii.*, 2, 1.

to them; they are not, in short, really words. The agreement between the technical terms of the *Tolkāppiyam* on the one hand and *Kātantra* and similar works on the other is close, while they have really little in common with those of Pāṇini, though some of their terms are to be found in the latter. The Grammars which I thus class together have certain marked differences with one another in respect of a very few technical terms. These are important as marking stages of development, but I shall reserve discussion of them till I come to that subject, and meanwhile remark on the coincidences only.

The first point to be remarked is the fourfold division of words (*pada*) into: *nāman* (noun), *ākhyāta* (verb), *upasarga* (preposition), and *nipāta* (particle). This division is found in Yāska¹⁾, and the terms occur in the *Kātantra*²⁾, *Kaccāyana*³⁾, and the *Prātiçākhyas*⁴⁾. In Tamil the four classes of words are called *pēyarššōl*, *vinaiššōl*, *iḍaiššōl*, and *uriššōl*⁵⁾; literally: name-word, act-word, middle-word, peculiar-word. The first is a literal translation of the Sanskrit *nāma*-(*pada*), the second is for *kriyā*; *ākhyāta* being, apparently, untranslatable in Tamil. The two last differ from the Aindra terms, but for the reason that the Tamil language has nothing corresponding to the prepositions and particles of Sanskrit. *iḍaiššōl* means middle-word, and is the name of affixes and the letters inserted between the root and suffix to express the tense; *uriššōl* 'peculiar-

1) ed. Both. p. 31 (Nir. i., 1). Profr. Weber ("In. Studien" iv., p. 76) has already remarked the general identity of the technical terms used by Yāska and the *Kātyāyāniya Prātiçākhyas* (of the White Yajur Veda).

2) *Nāmacatusṭaya* and *ākhyātaprakaraṇa* are the names of the sections on nouns and verbs. *Nāma* also occurs in ii., 5, 1 etc. The last chapter is on particles. *Nipāta* occurs in i., 3, 1.

3) *Nāma*, iv., 1. *Akhyātakappa* is the title of the sixth section of the work. *Upasarga*—i., 5, 10, and in the same place *Nipāta* also.

4) 1. *Ṛg.V. Pr.* xii., 5-8. *Nāmākhyātam upasargo nipātaḥ catvāry āhuḥ padajātāni çābdāḥ* etc. I quote this from Regnier's edition, as unfortunately, I have not got Profr. Max Müller's at hand. It must be remarked that the chapter in which this text occurs seems to be an addition to the original text.

2. *Taitt. Prātiç* (ed. Whitney) i., 15; vi., 4; x., 9; xiv., 8 (*upasarga*). But few technical terms of general grammar occur in this work. See Profr. Whitney's remarks on p. 432.

3. *Atharva Prātiç* (ed. Whitney) i., 1. "*caturṇām padajātānām nāmākhyātopasarga-nipātānām sandhyapadyau guṇau prātijñam*".

4. *Kātyāyāniya Prātiçākhyas* of the White Yajur Veda (ed. Weber, in "In. Studien" iv.) a viii., 52. "*Tao(padam) caturdhā nāmākhyātopasarganipātāḥ*" etc. This is, however, from a chapter which is probably not part of the original work. *Nipāta* occurs in ii., 16.

5) For these terms see chapters 5-8 of *Tolk.* ii. which treat of the four kinds of words in the order given above. cfr. *Nannūl* (*Pēyariyal*) i., 13.

word' is the name of adjectives and adverbs. In Tamil there are no prepositions or prefixes. Pada¹⁾ occurs in all these works as the term for a word.

Now in Pāṇini the parts of speech are treated in a more complicated way, and only upsarga and nipāta are there found, though not with quite the same significations as in the Aindra Grammar²⁾.

For nāma we find sup and subanta, and for ākhyāta we find tiñ³⁾; both artificial technical terms, and belonging to a far more advanced stage of analysis. It is sufficient to point out here that for the old simple terms, we find in Pāṇini an elaborate classification of nouns and verbs to suit the grammatical forms and irregularities; the analysis is no longer philosophical, but according to the forms.

The Tamil Grammar supplies another division of words which we do not find in the Sanskrit and Pāli Grammars, viz: into paṇupaḍam and paṇāpaḍam, literally: divisible and indivisible words. These words are nothing more than partial translations of the terms iṅyapada and anīṅyapada which occur in all the Prātiçākhyas. The commentary of Uvaṭa on the Rīgvedaprātiçākhyā (i., çl. 25) explains the word iṅya: "iṅya-çabdena sāvagraham padam ucyaṭe". Avagraha is a pause which divides the component parts of a compound⁴⁾.

As regards the terms relating to phonetics, the identity is nearly complete. In the Tolkāppiyam a vowel is called uyir⁵⁾, that is, 'breath'

1) Kāt. ii., 5, 5; Kaoc. iv., 8; Rīk. pr. ii., 12; Taitt. pr. i., 54; Atharva pr. iii., 95; Kātyāyana pr. i., 98. Pratiçāsūtra, 9. In the Tolkāppiyam, mōḷi (=word), being a translation of pada, is alone used, it appears. In the Nannūl, pada is preferred (ii., 1, 1); ōḷi with the sense of word is also used.

2) Goldstücker ("Pāṇini's Place" pp. 224-5) has well shown the development in Pāṇini's view of nipātas. He says: "Pāṇini teaches that the first and general category to which prepositions belong, is that of nipātas or particles: he then continues, that they are upsargas when they are joined to "verbal action" (i. e. to a verb); gatis, if the verbal root to which they are attached become developed into a noun; and that they are karmapravacanīyas if they are detached and govern a noun. Of such a distinction there is no trace in the Nirukta". On p. 222 Goldstücker shows that Pāṇini used the term upsarga without definition, and that, consequently, it was already in use. Yāska, however, defines it.

3) Or in the usual practice tiñanta. The Chinese form of this word has been strangely misunderstood by St. Julien ("Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Tsang", pp. 166 and 167), who puts tryanta (!) for the ti-yen-to of the Chinese text.

4) Regnier says: "mobile, séparable; c'est à dire, divisé en deux parties dans le pada."

Paṇu (in Tamil) is to divide or separate; paṇā is the negative form. These terms appear first in the Nannūl. The Anīṅyalaṇa has: anīṅyam iti bhāgapadam na tv asaṁāṣapadam.

5) Tolk. i., 1, 8.

or 'life'. In the Kātantra¹⁾, in the Prātiçākhyas²⁾ and Kaccāyana³⁾, *svara* or *sara* (in Pāli) is used for 'vowel'. This word is obviously the original of 'uyir'; *svara* means sound and breath also. A consonant in the Tolkāppiyam⁴⁾ is 'mēy', 'feeling' (the sense) or 'body'; that is an evident translation of the Sanskrit *sparça* which is a name of the consonants *k* to *m*⁵⁾. The Kātantra and Kaccāyana use only the *general* term for all the consonants⁶⁾—*vyañjana*—which appears in the Prātiçākhyas with the same sense⁷⁾. European students of the Tamil grammar without exception appear to have been ignorant that it is a mere adaptation from the Sanskrit, and have invented a pretty little allegory about consonants being the body and vowels the life, which thus falls to the ground: for the terms used, in reality, refer to the physiological nature of the sounds, and are scientific not fanciful. Vowels are 'short' (*kuṛil*=*hrasva*) and 'long' (*neḍil*=*dirgha*)⁸⁾. The Tamil Grammar divides the consonants into *vali* 'strong', *meli* 'soft', and *iḍai* or 'medial'⁹⁾. The first (*k, ś, ṭ, t, p*) and second (*ñ, ṁ, ṇ, n, m*) do not correspond to the *aghosha* and *ghoshavat* classes of the Sanskrit and Pāli Grammars; the difference in name is owing to the peculiar phonetic system of Tamil which differs altogether from the Sanskrit. The *iḍai* (or medial) letters (*y, r, l, v, ḷ* and *ḷ*) correspond with the Sanskrit *antaḥsthā*¹⁰⁾ and the Tamil name is an exact translation of the Sanskrit. Letters are said in the Tamil to belong to an *iṇam* or class (= *varga*)¹¹⁾. The Sanskrit works have a term for the sibilants (*ūshmānaḥ*) which is common to them¹²⁾, but the Tamil and Pāli phonetic systems want corresponding classes. The term for the

1) Kāt. i., 1, 2, and 7 etc.

2) Ṛik. pr. i., 1. Taitt. pr. i., 5. Atharva pr. i., 4. Kātyāyanīya pr. i., 39, etc. Pāṇinīyaçixā, çl. 4.

3) Kaccāyana, i., 1, 3.

4) Tolk. i., 1, 9.

5) Ṛik. pr. i. 2. Uvaṇa says: "teshām vyañjanānām ādyā vargāḥ sparçasanjñā vedītavayāḥ | spashṭakaraṇāḥ sparçāḥ kādayo mātāḥ." (Tanjore MS. 2,417.)

Taitt. pr. i., 7 etc. Atharva pr. i., 6. Kāty. pr. i., 49. Pāṇinīyaçixā, çl. 4. Maṇḍūkyaçixā (quoted by Profr. Weber) 5, 8. and in similar works.

6) Kāt. i., 1, 9. Kacc. i., 1, 6.

7) Ṛik. pr. i., 1. Taitt. pr. i., 6. Atharva pr. i., 43. Kāt. pr. i., 38.

8) Tolk. i., 1, 3-4.

9) Do. i., 1, 19-21.

10) Kāt. i., 1, 14. Ṛik. pr. i., 2; Atharva pr. i., 30; Kāty. pr. iii., 129; Pratiñāsūtra 9, 17. Pāṇinīyaçixā 7.

11) Tolk. ii., 1, 18; Kāt. i., 1, 10, etc.; Kacc. i., 1, 7; Ṛik. pr. i., 2; Taitt. pr. i., 10 etc.

12) Atharva pr. ii., 38. Kātyāyanīya pr. i., 64 etc. Pāṇinīyaçixā, çl. 15. Pratiñāsūtra 9.

union of one letter with another is in all the Sanskrit works and in Kaccāyana also, sandhi; the same is preserved in the Tamiḷ sandhi.

As regards the names of letters the Tolkāppiyam affixes -aṇaram¹⁾ to consonants, -ṇaram²⁾ to short vowels and -yāram³⁾ to long. This is obviously an extended application of the use of -kāra which occurs in all the Sanskrit treatises including Pāṇini's⁴⁾.

There are also some terms relative to phonetics, which are common to the Kātantra and to some of the Prātiçākhyas, though they are absent from Kaccāyana's Grammar and the Tolkāppiyam; for Pāli and Tamiḷ present nothing to which they can be applied. Such is nāmin as a name of the vowels, except a, ā⁵⁾; common to all (except Kaccāyana) is sandhyaxara⁶⁾ = combined letter or diphthong, but such a term would be superfluous in Pāli and Tamiḷ Grammars. Again samāna as a name of the vowels a to lī is common to the same⁷⁾.

Compared with this system, that of Pāṇini is at once seen to be totally different. In it there is no occasion for a classification of letters as described, for that is effected in a different way by the aid of the Çiva-sūtras. The use of varga to name a class of letters (*e.g.* ka-varga = k, kh, etc.) is replaced in Pāṇini's system by the single letter u suffixed; thus ku has the same meaning as kavarga. Thus, of the above words mentioned as occurring in the Aindra treatises, only two (hrasva and dīrgha⁸⁾) occur in Pāṇini, and then as no part of his system, but merely explanatory.

Distinction is made as to the place in the vocal organs by which the letters are pronounced, and which is called iḍam⁹⁾ (place) the literal translation of sthāna which occurs in the Prātiçākhyas¹⁰⁾. In the Nannūḷ iḍam and tānam (*i.e.* sthāna) are indiscriminately used¹¹⁾. Iḍam is fourfold—uṇam (breast), kaṇḍam (throat), uṣṣi (head), and mūkku (nose)

1) Tolk. i., 1, 1.

2) Do. i., 1, 2.

3) Do. i., 1, 8.

4) See Goldstücker's "Pāṇini's Place" pp. 35-42. We find in the Nannūḷ a further development of this terminology, viz: -kāṇ as the name of the foreign ai and an (Nannūḷ ii., 48). That this is an innovation appears clearly from Tolk. i., 1, 8.

5) Kāt. i., 1, 7. Ṛik. pr. i., 17, etc. and Atharva pr. ii., 29.

6) Kāt. i., 1, 8. Ṛik. pr. i., 1. Atharva pr. i., 40. Kātyāyanīya pr. i., 45.

7) Kāt. i., 1, 8. Ṛik. pr. i., 1. Taitt. pr. i., 2. Atharva pr. iii., 42.

8) Pāṇini i., 2, 27.

9) Tolk. i., 8, 1.

10) Ṛik. pr. i., 10 and 11. Taitt. pr. ii., 81. Atharva pr. i., 41. Kātyāyanīya pr. i., 48.

11) Nannūḷ ii., 17 and 20.

which obviously correspond with the Sanskrit— *uras*, *kaṇṭha*, *mūrdhan* and *nāsa*¹⁾. The enumeration of these *sthānas* differs much in the Sanskrit phonetic treatises. With regard to the pronunciation of letters, *muyarṣi*²⁾ (exertion) is also distinguished; this is an exact translation of *prayatna*³⁾. For *sthāna* Pāṇini has *āśya*, *prayatna* he retains⁴⁾.

The length of utterance of a letter is marked by one or more *mātti-
rai*⁵⁾, which is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *mātrā*⁶⁾. This term does not occur in Pāṇini.

Coming to the technical words relating to inflection, it is again evident that the Tamil terms are nothing but translations of the Sanskrit. The term for case in the *Tolkāppiyam* is *vēṇṇumai* = 'distinguishing'⁷⁾; this is the obvious translation of the Sanskrit *vibhakti*, which is common to all the works I have grouped together⁸⁾. The cases in Tamil are first, second etc.⁹⁾, answering to the Sanskrit *prathamā*, *dvitiyā* etc.¹⁰⁾, and the number and use of the cases is made to agree with that of the Sanskrit Grammar, though very unnecessarily. Thus seven cases and the vocative, or eight¹¹⁾ are reckoned. In the *Kātantra* etc., the vocative is called *āmantrita* or *āmantraṇa*¹²⁾; in Tamil it is called *viḷi*¹³⁾ or 'calling' the exact translation of the former.

1) The *Nāradaṣiṅgā* (i., 7) knows only three (*uraḥ kaṇṭhaḥ gīraḥ ca* 'va *sthānāni trīṇi vān maye*); the *Kāty. pr.* mentions three (i., 10); the *Pāṇiniyaṣiṅgā* (13) has eight, like the *Maṇḍūkīyaṣiṅgā*.

2) Cfr. *Nannūl* ii., 17.

3) *Ṛik. pr.* xiv., 10. *Taitt. pr.* xvii., 6. *Pāṇiniyaṣiṅgā*, ṣl. 12.

4) *Pāṇini*, i., 1, 9.

5) *Tolk. i.*, 1, 7. cfr. *Nannūl*, ii., 44-5. The *Pāṇiniyaṣiṅgā* (v. 49) and *Ṛik. pr.* (xiii., 18) explains the length of sounds of one, two or three *mātrās* by the cries of certain animals. Here in the Tamil books it is measured by the "winking of the eye" or "snapping the fingers".

6) *Ṛikpr.* i., 6. *Atharva pr.* i., 38; *Kāty. pr.* i., 54; *Pāṇiniyaṣiṅgā*, ṣl. 16.

7) *ii.*, 2, 1. *Beschi* ("Clavis" § p. 18) says: "*Casus appellans vēṇṇumai, quasi differentia nominis*". So the Commentator *Durgasimha* says (on *Kāt. ii.*, 1, 1, 2): "*arthasya vibhaṅga-nād vibhaktaya iti*".

8) *Kāt. ii.*, 1, 1; *Kaoc. ii.*, 1, 3; *Atharva. pr. ii.*, 51; *Kāty. pr. v.*, 13.

9) *Tolk. ii.*, 2, 10 ff.

10) 1. *prathamā*—*Kāt. ii.*, 2, 17. *Kaoc. iii.*, 14.—2. *dvitiyā*—*Kāt. ii.*, 1, 44; *Kaoc. iii.*, 27.—3. *tritiyā*—*Kāt. ii.*, 1, 7; *Kaoc. iii.*, 16.—4. *caturthī*—*Kāt. ii.*, 3, 1; *Kaoc. iii.*, 23.—5. *pañcamī*—*Kāt. ii.*, 4, 20; *Kaoc. ii.*, 5, 2.—6. *śaṣṭhī*—*Kāt. ii.*, 3, 1; *Kaoc. iii.*, 31.—7. *saptamī*—*Kāt. ii.*, 4, 2; *Kaoc. ii.*, 5, 3. It is not worth while collecting the few references in the *Prātiśākhya*s etc.

11) *Tolk. ii.*, 2, 2.

12) *Kāt. ii.*, 1, 5; *Ṛik. pr. i.*, 18; *Atharva. pr. i.*, 81; *Kāty. pr. ii.*, 17. *Kaoc. ii.*, 1, 5, has *ālapana*.

13) *Tolk. ii.*, 2, 2.

Some of these terms occur in Pāṇini, but they form no real part of the system he uses; by it the names of cases are the case-terminations with indicative letters attached. For the name of the vocative, besides āmantrita we find in Pāṇini the term sambuddhi, which is equivalent to it, and which also occurs in the Kātantra.

The technical terms with regard to verbs also show much the same likeness in the Tamiḷ Grammar on the one hand, and the Kātantra and the like on the other.

A verb (as already said) is called in Tamiḷ *vinai* which corresponds to *kriyā*. For the agreement to be complete some representative of *ākhyāta* should be used, but *kriyā* actually occurs in an explanatory sense¹⁾, and is, therefore, probably the older term. The Tamiḷ verb differs essentially from the Sanskrit, and has only three tenses²⁾ with an imperative. The first are called *niṣaḷ-pōluḍu* (now passing time), *iṣaṇḍa-pōluḍu* (past time) and *ēṣir-pōluḍu* (before time)³⁾. The imperative is called *eval* or *command*⁴⁾. These are obviously translations of *vartamānakāla*, *paroxakāla* (or *bhūtakāla*) and *bhavishyatkāla*⁵⁾; the Tamiḷ name for the imperative is from the Sanskrit *anumati*⁶⁾. Verbs are called in Tamiḷ either *tanvinai* (self-verb)⁷⁾ or *piṇavinai* (outward-verb), these terms are evidently translations of the Sanskrit *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada*, but the distinction they mark in Tamiḷ might be better expressed, as these two classes of verbs correspond rather to intransitives and transitives.

Some of these terms also occur in Pāṇini, but, as in the case of those relating to nouns they are mentioned incidentally, and form no part of his system, which has entirely artificial words as names for tenses, composed of *l*, a vowel, and *ṭ* or *ṇ*. That Pāṇini explains these symbols by the simple Aindra terms shows that these last were commonly understood, and are, therefore, the older terms⁸⁾.

The Tamiḷ language is so entirely different from the Sanskrit that it is useless to look much further for technical grammatical terms be-

1) Kāt. iii., 1, 9. Rik. pr. xii., 8.

2) Tol. ii., 6, 2.

3) Tol. ii., 6, 3 and 44. *Kāla* is actually used for 'tense' in the *Tolkāppiyam*.

4) Not in the *Tolkāppiyam* apparently; it occurs in the *Nannūl*.

5) Kāt. iii., 1, 11; 13: 15. Kacc. vi., 1, 8; 12; 17. For *paroxā* see Ath. pr. iv., 84. *ofr. Mahābhāṣya*, f. 7 b. "*trayaḥ kālāḥ bhūta-bhavishyad vartamānāḥ*".

6) Kāt. iii., 1, 18.

7) Tol. ii., 6, 6.

8) *e. g.* P. iii., 2, 128: *vartamāne laṭ*; iii., 3, 8. *bhavishyati gamyādayaḥ*.

longing to the Aindra school. For example, the arrangement of the persons in the tenses includes masculine and feminine terminations (for human beings) and also neuter endings of the third person; this necessarily renders impossible an adherence to the Sanskrit model¹⁾. A few more terms may, however, be mentioned: 1. *çāriyai*²⁾ which is the name of letters inserted between a word and an affix; it is from $\sqrt{\text{çār}}$ 'to resort to' or 'to come on,' and is thus the exact equivalent of the Sanskrit *āgama*³⁾. 2. The term used in the *Tolkāppiyam* for the loss or elision of a letter is *kēḍuḥal*⁴⁾ from $\sqrt{\text{kēḍu}}$ 'to be destroyed or lost'; this is exactly the equivalent of *lopa*⁵⁾. 3. In the same treatise we find *mayakkam*⁶⁾ used as the name of a group of consonants occurring together; this word is from $\sqrt{\text{mayakku}}$ 'to confuse or attract' and it corresponds to the *samyoga*⁷⁾ of the corresponding Sanskrit treatises. Again we find *iṟu*⁸⁾ which answers to *anta* as generally used in the Sanskrit treatises.

The above comparison of the technical terms of the *Tolkāppiyam* on the one hand, and the *Kātantra* etc. on the other, will, I think, establish the general identity of system of all these grammars, as I have already stated⁹⁾. The comparison (to a limited extent) with the terms used by Pāṇini prove that these last are far more artificial and precise and, therefore, more recent than the former. The relation of the two is just the same as that between the mediæval notation of algebraic problems and the modern system. Where, for example, Cardan wrote 'cosa' and 'census' we now put x and x^2 ¹⁰⁾. So where the Aindra Grammars have an ordinary word used in a technical sense, Pāṇini mostly has a mere symbol¹¹⁾. If the series of technical terms that I have just discussed be

1) The name of the personal terminations of verbs is *vibhakti* (Kacc. vi., 1). The *Kātantra* does not use this word in a *sūtra*, but the commentators assume it. The *Tolkāppiyam*, on the other hand, prohibits *vēggumai* (*vibhakti*) to verbs (ii., 6, 1), and restricts this term solely to nouns, no doubt, because the personal terminations to the verbs are at once recognized as pronouns.

2) *Tolk.* i., 6, 1.

3) *Kāt.* ii., 1, 6; *Kacc.* i., 4, 6; *Ṛik. pr.* ii., 11; *Taitt. pr.* i., 28; *Atharva pr.* iii., 78; *Kāty. pr.* i., 187.

4) *Tolk.* i., 4, 13 and 20; 5, 15 and 18 etc.

5) *Ṛik. pr.* iv., 7; *Taitt. pr.* i., 56; *Atharva pr.* i., 67; *Kāt.* i., 2, 1; *Kacc.* i., 2, 1.

6) *Tolk.* i., 2, 14.

7) *Ṛik. pr.* (i., 7). *Taitt. pr.* xxi., 4. *Atharva pr.* i., 51.

8) *Tolk.* i., 2, 6 and 38 etc.

9) Above pp. 11-12.

10) Morley's "Jerome Cardan" i., p. 222.

11) There are a few *anubandhas* in the *Kātantra* etc., but these must be considered further on.

considered, it will clearly be seen that the terms used in the Tolkāppiyam, Kātantra, and Kaccāyana all hang together as parts of one system, and that the resemblance holds good throughout. Thus the similarity in the technical terms regarding phonetics is not varied when we come to inflection, and several terms which can find no place in the Tamiḷ grammar occur in the others¹⁾; for these reasons it is safe to presume that the Prātiçākhyas all belong to the same school, though they do not go beyond phonetics, and so far their evidence is defective.

I shall now collect the conventional (technical) terms discussed above, giving, firstly, the term used in the Tolkāppiyam in its original Sanskrit form, if possible²⁾, and marked *. Variations are included in () following, the source being indicated. Those words which also occur in Pāṇini³⁾ are marked by thick type, and additional words not in the Tolkāppiyam but which occur in all or most of the Grammars that I now have classed together, are in spaced type.

aghoshavat	upasarga
* aniṅgya (in Prātiçākhyas)	** uriṣṣol (upasarga, in all the others)
anunāsika	ūshman
* anumati	ekavacana
anushaṅga (not in the Prātiçākhyas)	* -kāra
anusvāra	* kāla
* anta	* kriyā (akhyāta, in all the others)
* antaḥstha	guṇa
ākhyāta	ghoshavat
* āgama	jihvāmūliya
* ātmanepada	* dīrgha
* āmantrita or āmantrana	* dvitīyā etc. ⁴⁾
* iṅgya (in Prātiçākhyas)	dhātu (used by Yāska and, before him, by Çakaṭāyana)
** idaiṣṣol (nipāta in all the others)	dvivacana
upadhā	* nāman
upadhmāniya	

1) e. g. upadhā. Kāt. i., 4, 7; Kacc. Lñga (=Pāṇini's prātipadika); Kāt. ii., 1, 1; Kacc. ii., 1, 2. Pravāda is the term in the Ṛik. pr. (ii., 39). Prof. Max Müller noticed (in his A. S. Literature) that Pāṇini was the first to distinguish the genders for which he uses this word. Anushaṅga, Kāt. ii., 1, 12. Ṛik. pr. ii., 18; Atharva pr. i., 92. Kāty. pr. i., 85.

2) The two that cannot be re-translated are marked * *

3) i. e. in the sūtras of Pāṇini only, I do not include the vārttikas etc.

4) I omit tṛitīyā and the other names of cases up to saptaṁī.

nāmin (bhāvin in the Kāty. pr.)	varṇa (in Pāṇini, i., 1, 9 in sa-
nipāta	varṇa only)
* pada	* vartamānakāla
pararūpa	vikṛiti
* parasmaipada	* vibhakti
paroxakāla (or bhūtakāla)	visarjanīya or visarga
prakṛiti (cfr. Kāt.)	vṛiddhi
pratyaya	vyañjana
* prathamā	* samyoga
pradhāna	* sandhi
* prayatna	sandhyaxara
bahuvaana	samāna (i. e. varṇa)
* bhaviṣyatkāla	samāsa
* bhūtakāla	savarṇa
* mātṛā	* sthāna
liṅga (not in Pāṇini with the	* sparṇa
same sense; = pravāda in	* svāra (originally = vowel or
Prātiçākhyas)	accent. Pāṇini has it in the
* lōpa	last sense only)
* varga	* hrasva

In the above list I have purposely excluded varṇa and axara as these terms, though common to the Sanskrit treatises, are not represented in the Tamiḷ which has ēluttu in their place, a word that can be best translated by likhita. As I have shown elsewhere¹⁾, there are strong reasons for believing that the Tamiḷ people had an independent system of writing in use before their language was analysed by grammarians from the North. The terms relating to samāsa are older than Pāṇini, but do not occur in the Tamiḷ Grammar.

Thus, as far as these terms go, it is clear that if we find almost any one of them in any treatise, we are certain to find the rest in due course; but this is not the case if we take Pāṇini's grammar. I have already given several instances which show the great development in the system of technical terms as used by the last, compared with the former; I shall now show that Pāṇini's use of the Aindra terms proves that they belong to an older system, and that they probably belong to the system of the grammarians whom he occasionally quotes as "Prāñcaḥ".

1) "Elements of S. Indian Palaeography", p. 48.

The late Profr. Goldstücker (who first, perhaps, in Europe, mastered the intricate system of Pāṇini's grammar) pointed out that the rules contained in the sūtras i., 2, 53—57 explain the innovations made by Pāṇini as regards the technical terms used by his predecessors in the science. Goldstücker's conclusions are¹⁾:

I. "That his (*i. e.* Pāṇini's) grammar does not treat of those *saṃjñās* or conventional names which are known and settled otherwise.

II. "That this term *saṃjñā* must be understood in our (*i. e.* Pāṇini's) rule to concern only such conventional names as have an *an* etymology.

III. "That it applies also to grammatical terms which admit of an etymology, but not to those which are merely grammatical symbols.

IV. "That such terms as *ṭi*, *ghu* and *bha* were known and settled before Pāṇini's grammar, but that, nevertheless, they are defined by Pāṇini, because they are not etymological terms"²⁾. Pāṇini himself (*i.*, 2, 56) gives examples, *viz.* *pradhāna* and *pratyaya* which are, therefore, older than his system.

Now if one examines Pāṇini's sūtras narrowly, it becomes evident that there are certain terms which he always uses without a definition and which belong to the Aindra school, whereas he gives definitions of certain others which belong to the same school, but which he uses in a modified sense and not as they were originally used.

Firstly, as regards Aindra terms which Pāṇini uses without a definition. These are *prathamā*, *dvitīyā*, *ṭṛtīyā*, *caturthī*, *pañcamī*, *shashṭhī* and *saptamī* as names of cases³⁾. Why Pāṇini uses these terms is evident; had he restricted himself to his own symbols, his meaning would not have appeared at all⁴⁾ in these particular sūtras, and thus he was compelled to use the older terms or sacrifice his principle of the utmost possible conciseness of expression. The Commentary to the original Calcutta edition, and which is a compilation from earlier similar works, states in more than one place that these names of cases are technical terms of the '*prāñca*' grammarians. Thus, on P. ii., 3, 13, in which *caturthī* oc-

1) "Pāṇini's Place" (*sep. imp.*) p. 166.

2) I shall discuss this view in due course, further on, when I shall attempt to determine Pāṇini's innovations.

3) See the Index at the end of the second volume of Böhrtlingk's edition of Pāṇini for the places where these terms occur.

4) For these sūtras refer to the meaning of some expressions, and not to the grammatical form.

curs, this term is explained by: "caturthi 'ti saṁjñā prācām". Again on sūtra ii., 3, 46, in which prathamā occurs, the same explanation is given. It is unlikely that this statement is without authority, but what that authority is, I have as yet failed to discover, though I have examined the Kāçikā vṛitti and other most likely sources, for this statement. It has been accepted by Böhtlingk and Goldstücker, however, but without indication of the authority on which it rests¹; yet considering the nature of the grammatical teaching given in India, and its absolute reliance on, and servile imitation of the authorities, such a statement can hardly have been made without reason, and, therefore, must not be wholly rejected. The other Aindra terms used by Pāṇini without a definition are: anu-svāra; anta; ekavacana, dvivacana and bahuvacana (of nouns); upasarga; nipāta; dhātu; pratyaya; pradhāna; prayatna; bhaviṣyat (-kāla); vartamāna (-kāla). Besides these one must add nearly all the terms relating to samāsa, but I shall not discuss them as they naturally cannot be found in Tamiḷ. Thus it is certain that Pāṇini found these conventional terms already in use, and generally understood.

The Aindra terms of which Pāṇini apparently gives definitions are as follows: anunāsika; ātmanepada; āmantrita; upadhā; guṇa; dīrgha; pada; parasmaipada; vibhakti; vṛiddhi; samyoga; savarṇa; hrasva. But it by no means necessarily follows that Pāṇini invented or first used these terms, for, (as I shall now proceed to show), he has in many cases improved and made more exact the use of an old term and in other cases his system required a new definition.

Anunāsika. Pāṇini defines this term in i., 1, 8—"mukhanāsikāyacano 'nunāsikaḥ." In the Prātiçākhyas anunāsika is the name of the nasals ṇ, ṇ, ṇ, etc. and certain other letters in certain positions; here, in Pāṇini, we find a physiological explanation which supersedes the enumeration of particular cases in the earlier books.

1) See Böhtlingk's edition (ii., p. 487, a. v. dvitīyā): "Die Endungen des 2ten Casus bei den östlichen Grammatikern" *ofr.* also the passage on p. xii. of the same volume: "Es kommen nämlich in seinem Werke für mehrere grammatische Elemente doppelte Kunstausdrücke vor, von denen der eine ihm selbst eigen ist, der andere dagegen, nach dem Zeugnisse seiner Commentatoren, von den östlichen Grammatikern entlehnt ist." Goldstücker ("Pāṇini's Place" p. 167 of the sep. imp.) says: "And the commentators apprise us that these words (i. e. prathamā, etc.) were technical names used by the eastern grammarians which are referred to by Pāṇini in some of his rules". The sources from which the Commentary in the Calcutta edition was taken are mentioned on the title-page. Prof. Weber has identified the Kātyāyāniya Prātiçākhyas with the Prāçya School, and Goldstücker (*u. s. p.* 217) classes the *Phit* sūtras with the same. The last has only partially the Aindra terms. (See also Kielhorn's edition p. 11.)

Ātmanepada etc. Pāṇini (i., 4, 99) says: "laḥ parasmaipadam"; in the next sūtra he defines ātmanepada—"tañānāv ātmanepadam". In the Kātantra and Kaccāyana, these words are the name of certain terminations¹⁾; here symbols unknown to the earlier works are used, and new definitions are, therefore, necessary.

Āmantrita or āmantraṇa. Pāṇini (ii., 3, 48) says: "sā 'mantritam." This is no real definition, but is merely explanatory.

Upadhā. Pāṇini (i., 1, 65) says: "alo 'ntyāt pūrva upadhā." This definition differs but very little from that in the older system²⁾, but this slight change makes very plain the difference between Pāṇini's system and that followed by his predecessors; it is the first word alaḥ. The reason for this addition is given in the Mahābhāṣya³⁾ viz. to avoid making it apply to the indicatory suffixes. In the older treatises this precaution was unnecessary, for they did not use such symbols at all, if we may infer decisively from the Prātiçākhyas and Tolkāppiyam, and there are very few such in the Kātantra and in Kaccāyana's Grammar⁴⁾.

Guṇa. In the old treatises guṇa occurs, but a new definition was necessary in Pāṇini's Grammar, as he uses the Çiva-sūtras; he defines it accordingly by a pratyāhāra.

Dirgha and hrasva. The old definition was by mātrās; Pāṇini (i., 2, 27) gives a new conventional value: "ū 3 kālo 'j jhrasvadirghaplutaḥ".

Pada. This is again defined by Pāṇini (i., 4, 14): "suptiñāntam padam"; but the definition is obviously necessary as sup and tiñ are unknown to the earlier works. The definition in the Kātantra⁵⁾ is: "pūrva-parayor arthopalabdau padam".

Lopa. Pāṇini (i., 1, 69) says: "adarçanam lopaḥ". This is really a new definition, or rather the first; for, elsewhere, the word is simply used in its ordinary sense without explanation. It evidently refers to written symbols, and Pāṇini was probably the first grammarian who wrote his treatise. He also uses some new terms—lu and luk, lup, çlu.

1) Kāt. iii., 1, 1-2. Kacc. p. 221.

2) Kāt. (ii., 1, 11)—"antyāt pūrva upadhā". Atharva pr. i., 92; Kāty. pr. i., 85.

3) Mahābh. (Ed. Benares, i., fol. 160, b.), "Kim idam algrahāṇam antyañiçeshāṇam? evam bhavitum arhati | upadhāsanjñāyām algrahāṇam antyanirdeçaḥ ce 'tsaṅghātāpṛatishedhaḥ | " etc.

4) It is to be noticed that this definition (in the form "varṇād antyāt pūrva upadhā") occurs in the Atharva pr. (i., 92) and in the Kātyāyana's pr. (i., 85). Profr. Whitney remarks that in the Ñik pr. upadhā has a more general signification (p. 59 of his edition of the Atharva pr.). The Tañtt. pr. (as Profr. Whitney points out) has not this term.

5) Kāt. i., 1, 20. The C. explains "pūrva-parayoḥ" by "prakṛtīvibhaktayoḥ".

Vibhakti. Pāṇini (i., 4, 104) defines this term: “vibhaktiḥ ca”. This sūtra is intended to declare that sup and tiṅ are called vibhakti. In the older books the mere list of terminations was given, here the introduction of the symbols sup and tiṅ renders explanation necessary.

Vṛiddhi. The reason for this fresh definition is the same as in the case of guṇa.

Samyoga. Here again the use of the Āiva-sūtras renders a new definition necessary (i., 1, 7)—“halo 'nantarāḥ samyogaḥ”. The old definition (Rik. pr. i., 7) is: “samyogo vyañjanasannipātaḥ which would not suit the new term for consonants.

Savarṇa. This is not defined in the older books, but Pāṇini sums up all their researches on the nature of alphabetic sounds by—“tulyāsyaprayatnam savarṇam” (i., 1, 9)—a definition which completely supersedes the old lists of analogous letters.

Thus of the Aindra terms used by Pāṇini, he uses the greater number without definition, and they are, therefore, to be considered as in use before his time, and this result follows from his own rule¹⁾. A somewhat smaller number of Aindra terms he does define, but it is plain that he does not use these terms in their old sense, or else that a new and more precise definition is necessary in consequence of the system of technical symbols used by him, and by which the old idea is expressed in a new way. These last instances thus do not fall under his rule, and it does not, in consequence, follow that he invented these terms.

In making this comparison, I have, as already said, noticed only the sūtras of Pāṇini; it is little likely that these can have been tampered with or improved to any serious extent, but the case is different with the subordinate literature such as the Gaṇapāṭha etc. The vārttikas and Patañjali's commentary, as we have them, contain a large number of Aindra terms (*e.g.* svara and vyañjana) which do not occur in Pāṇini, and considering the nature of these texts and their object, viz., to respectively correct and rehabilitate Pāṇini, their presence is evidence in favour of the view taken above. If (as has been explained above) the Commentators are right in identifying the Aindra terms for cases as those of the Prāñcaḥ, the opinions of those grammarians as quoted by Pāṇini should correspond with the works which I have shown to belong to the Aindra school. Now Pāṇini quotes these grammarians in eight sūtras²⁾.

1) i., 2, 53 ff.

2) iii., 4, 18; iv., 1, 17. 48. 160; v., 8, 80. 94. 4, 101; vii., 2, 86.

The first of these is: "alaṅkhalvoḥ pratishedhayoḥ prācām ktvā", and this sūtra actually occurs in the Kātantra¹⁾ with the omission of prācām; what is here taught is, therefore, the doctrine of the school to which the Kātantra belongs. The next three sūtras referred to treat of the formation of certain feminine nouns, but I cannot trace any similarity in them, nor in respect of the remaining sūtras. Considering the nature of the books we have for comparison, and that of the complete treatises one is in Pāli and the other in Tamiḻ both of which necessarily allow of only a limited adaptation of the original system, and that rather in form than in matter, this nearly negative result is all that could be expected, and does not really affect the question.

Whether the identity of the Aindra School with the Prāñcaḥ that Pāṇini quotes be admitted or not, it seems to me that it is impossible generally to translate this name any longer by "Eastern Grammarians", and that the only satisfactory rendering is "Former Grammarians". Pāṇini does occasionally use the ambiguous term prāñc²⁾ in a geographical sense, but only where the words he refers to, are geographical. In the sūtras where he mentions the grammatical doctrine of the prāñcaḥ, the Commentators (e. g. the Kāçikā vṛitti) always explain the word prācām by prācām ācāryāṇām matena, and as we now know that Pāṇini was a native of

1) vi, 1. It adds, however, vā and makes it optional.

2) Prāñc and its derivatives mean both a) 'former' or 'old', and also b) 'eastern' in all periods of Sanskrit Literature. A few examples will make this plain:

a. "Sarvadarṣanasaṅgraha" (p. 122): "Asya praṇasya prativacanam prācyūm mīmāṃsāyām prādarçī Jaiminīnā muninā".

"Paribhāṣenduṣekhara", introduction, p. i. (of Dr. Kielhorn's admirable edition): "Prācīnavyākaraṇatantre vācanikāny atra Pāṇinīyatantre jñāpakanyāyasiddhēni bhāṣyavārttikayor nibaddhāni yāni paribhāṣārūpāni tāni vyākhyāyante". Vaidyanātha (in his C. on this text) explains that the grammarians who preceded Pāṇini were Indra and the like.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīxita's "Siddhāntakaumudī" (Calcutta edition of 1870, vol. ii., p. 188) "Sarve paxāḥ prācām granthe sthitāḥ". This refers to the Prakriyākaumudī and the plural 'prācām' is honorific; there could not have well been many authors to one book. Elsewhere in the S. K., Bhaṭṭoji refers to the same treatise as 'Prācīnaprakriyā'. So also in his Prauḍha-manoramā he means the Prakriyākaumudī of Rāmacandra and his followers where he mentions the 'prāñcaḥ' or 'prācīnaprakriyā' which he always does with censure.

b. But, on the other hand, even Pāṇini uses the word also with the sense of 'Eastern' (cfr. i., 1, 75), and it is not unusual in this sense in grammatical works. So Xīrasvāmin (in his Commentary on the Amarakoṣa, i., 1, 1, 1) says: "tripiṣṭapam' iti prācyāḥ prāyepa hy ete pa(b)au ṣasau ca vyatyasasya paṭhanti". This clearly refers to the Eastern or Bengali pronunciation, as the actual pronunciation jība (for jīva) and ṣana (for ṣana) prove. [Profr. Aufrecht has lately described the I. O. MS. of Xīrasvāmin in the Zeitschrift d. d. M-G. xxviii., pp. 108 ff. I have only a defective MS. (Tanjore, No. 5,580) to refer to, and this differs in many places from Profr. Aufrecht's quotations; e. g. in i., 1, 1, 80 there is no mention of the

Çalātura¹⁾, a glance at the map will show that a geographical meaning cannot possibly be given to the word. It must also be taken into consideration that even if Pāṇini could have referred to some of his predecessors as 'Eastern', yet that such a term could not possibly be continued (as we find is the case) by his successors (*e.g.* Patañjali) many of whom lived to the south-east of Pāṇini's native place; they would rather have mentioned them by name.

In an enquiry of this nature small details of corroborative evidence are not to be neglected, and it is, thus, necessary to remark that the grammatical terms which are found in the Vedic works are Aindra terms. There can be no doubt that these words (as used by Grammarians) are older than Pāṇini, for this reason; as, though, no doubt, the chronology of the Vedic literature is beset with difficulties, the matter, at least of the books I am going to quote, can be safely put down as anterior to Pāṇini; such passages²⁾ can hardly have been interpolated for any conceivable reason.

The first passage occurs in the Taittiriya or first Upanishad of the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka (vii., 1, 2)³⁾; it runs: *çixām vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | varṇāḥ svaraḥ | mātṛā balam | sāmā santānaḥ | ity uktaḥ çixādhyāyaḥ ||*

We find here merely the bare heads of matter to be treated in a phonetical compendium such as the *çixās* now actually in existence in considerable numbers, but *varṇa*, *svara* and *mātṛā* are actually Aindra terms.

paçcātyāḥ, but only the *prāçyāḥ* are referred to. Again in iii., 3, 20 only the *udīçyāḥ* are referred to.] Again in the Bhela Samhitā (a. xiii., 3) we find this word used in the sense of 'Eastern people' or Natives of Bengal (?):

*Matsyānnabhojino nityam prāçyāḥ syuḥ kaphapittinaḥ |
Çlipadam galagaṇḍam ca prāyaças teshu dṛçyate ||*

But it is sufficient to point out the ambiguity of the word and that no general rule can be given as to its rendering. The possible meanings in Pāṇini appear to be *a)* former (grammarians), *b)* former (use of the language). To these *udao* appears as a contrast *viz.*, in the sense of 'recent'. Pāṇini, in short, recognizes historical development in Sanskrit. To the natural objection—if Pāṇini's predecessors are called *prāñcaḥ* collectively by him, why then does he quote individual authors?—the explanation appears to me to be easy and satisfactory, *viz.*, if he refers to a peculiar doctrine in which all his predecessors were agreed, he mentions them collectively as *Prāñcaḥ*; if however he refers to individual differences, he names his authority.

1) Near Attock. See Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India" i., pp. 57-8.

2) The three first passages have already been noticed by Profr. Max Müller (A. S. Lit. p. 160, 2nd ed.) as containing grammatical terms. In this he follows Profr. Weber ("Indische Studien" iv., p. 76).

3) Bibl. Indica edition (by Rājendralāl Mitra) p. 725. It is useless to give here the interpretations of the numerous Commentators, for they add really nothing; the sense of the passage is plain enough.

The Chāndogya Upanishad¹⁾ mentions sparça, svara and ūshman which are all Aindra terms also.

In the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa²⁾ we find: Ne 'd ekavacaṇena bahuvacanam vyavāyāme 'ti. We have already seen that ekavacana and bahuvacana are Aindra terms. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa axara, axarapañkti, caturaxara, varṇa, -kāra and pada³⁾ occur; these belong to the same class of terms. Though few, they imply an advanced analysis of words.

The most important passage from this stand-point is, however, one in the relatively late Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (i., 24). It runs: "Omkāram pricchāmaḥ ko dhātuḥ kim prātipadikam kim nāmā 'khyātam kim liṅgam kim vacanam kā vibhaktiḥ kaḥ pratyayaḥ kaḥ svara upasargo nipātaḥ kim vai vyākaraṇam ko vikāraḥ ko vikāri katimātraḥ kativarṇaḥ katyaxaraḥ katipadaḥ kaḥ samyogaḥ kim sthānānupradānakaraṇam çixukāḥ kim uccārayanti kim chandaḥ ko varṇa iti pūrve praçṇāḥ"⁴⁾. This short passage contains all the chief Aindra terms, but it is by no means the only one in this Brāhmaṇa in which grammatical terms occur⁵⁾. It is useless to refer to the Tāṇḍya and other Brāhmaṇas of the Sāma Veda as in these many grammatical terms (e. g. vibhakti) are used in a different technical sense and refer to the Sāma chants.

Profr. Weber has already noticed⁶⁾ the grammatical terms which occur in the Vedic (kalpa) sūtras and these (vyañjana; okāra; makāra; tālu-sthāna; oṣṭyasthāna; pluta; trimātra; sandhyaxara; pragrihya (in the Çāṅkhāyanasūtra); nāmam (in the Kātyāyanasūtra) also belong to the Aindra School. Those in the Gṛihya-sūtras (which are probably later) are of a mixed character, but for the most part they and the works based on them preserve the older terms⁷⁾.

This result is considerable, as the many terms actually occurring in Vedic works are Aindra terms, and the absence of the least trace of any

1) Dr. Roer's edition (In the Bibl. Indica) p. 135 (p. ii., 22, 8—b).

2) Edited by Dr. A. Weber p. 990. In a note on p. 1018 Profr. Weber shows that at the time this Brāhmaṇa was written, grammar had advanced far enough to identify roots such as √bhū and √as. This is supported by many passages in the Aitareya Br. (ed. Haug)—i., 10; ii., 1; iii., 2 and 29 (√mad), 39 and 47 (suhā identified with suhita); iv., 6. 29. 32; v., 5 (janūmahi is said to be jāta-vat) etc.

3) Ed. Profr. Haug, P. i., 5; ii., 24; v., 8; etc.

4) I have taken the Bibl. Indica text which I have collated with Tanjore 2,528. This last omits 'kaḥ pratyayaḥ'.

5) e. g. axara (i., 16); dvivarṇa (do.); varṇa (do.); caturmātra (do.); akāra (i., 20); ekāxara (i., 22) etc.

6) "Indische Studien" iv., p. 75 note.

7) e. g. by Mānavadharmasāstra ii., 38, a woman's name is to be dīrghavarṇānta.

other systems of conventional terms forming part of a grammatical system, clearly shows that the Aindra system is the oldest.

Again a comparison of the style of composition of the Kātantra, Kaccāyana's Grammar, the Prātiçākhyas and the Tolkāppiyam on the one hand and that of Pāṇini on the other, shows an immense development in every way. As far as the differentiation and specialization of the technical terms is concerned, I have already given some examples¹⁾. The brevity of Pāṇini's sūtras is well known, and the involved arrangement which he has adopted, perplexes even old students²⁾, on the other hand the Kātantra and similar books present no difficulty worth mentioning³⁾. Regnier describes, very aptly, the style of the R̥gvedaprātiçākhyā in the following terms: "La méthode du Prātiçākhyā dans ces trois chapitres (vii., viii., ix), comme presque partout ailleurs, est tout empirique. Il se contente généralement d'énumérer les faits, sans en chercher la raison, et le petit nombre de règles qu'il établit ne sont fondées, à fort peu d'exceptions près, que sur des rencontres et des combinaisons fortuites, ou sur des analogies toutes mécaniques qui ne s'expliquent, en général, que par la liberté que cet antique idiome laissait au poète, en ce qui touche à la quantité". The other three Prātiçākhyas are more modern in style and arrangement, especially the ones belonging to the white Yajur and to the Atharva Vedas⁴⁾; but in these respects they are nevertheless a great contrast to Pāṇini's Grammar. Compared with it the style in which they are written is simple. They want however the paribhāṣās and similar explanations, and in this respect resemble Pāṇini and the later

1) Above pp. 13, 15, 17, 19 note 1, 28.

2) This will be easily seen by taking the Calcutta edition of the Siddāntakaumudī and observing how in any chapter (*e. g.* inflection of nouns or verbs) the sūtras come indifferently from all parts of Pāṇini's text.

3) Aufrecht ("Catalogus" p. 169) says: "Hac enumeratione singulas grammaticæ (i. e. Kātantræ) partes certa quadam satique justa ratione dispositas esse vides. Regulæ ipsæ vel sine commentario perspicuæ sunt, neque ea brevitate et obscuritate laborant, quibus Pāṇini, ejusque schola studuerunt". These words apply equally to Kaccāyana's Grammar which is almost a counterpart of the Kātantra, as already shown.

4) Profr. Whitney (Atharva pr. p. 247) says: "It may be said that our treatise is much more curt and concise, and more ready to pass without notice what may be assumed as already known, than either of the others. Definitions of terms are far from numerous, and the whole department of paribhāṣā, or explanation of modes of phraseology, of extent, bearing, and application of the rules and the like, which in all the other Prātiçākhyas occupies considerable space, is here almost wanting. This is in part owing to the simpler and less artificial mode of arrangement adopted in our work." The Kāt. pr. has some Pāṇinean terms, *e. g.* tin; Goldstücker ("Pāṇini's Place", pp. 200 ff.) has already given reasons for believing that this treatise is in its present state posterior to Pāṇini.

grammars¹⁾, and show that they have not preserved their primitive forms in all particulars.

A few examples will make this plain as regards the style of the several works; the development of the technical terms used by Pāṇini has already been sufficiently exemplified, as well as the several arrangements of matter.

The want of the Çivasūtras and the consequent absence of pratyāhāras in the works I have grouped together as belonging to the Aindra School, cause a marked difference of style in these as compared with Pāṇini. This difference can be easily grasped if the rules referring to the sandhi of diphthongs be compared. In Pāṇini this is done by a single rule²⁾—“eco 'yavāyāvaḥ”, in which (it is hardly necessary to remark) ‘ec’ stands for e (o, ŋ, ai, au) c as we find in the Çivasūtras. To express this same rule in the Kātantra four sūtras or rules³⁾ are necessary, “e ay; ai āy; o av; au ār.” The same is the case in the rules regarding the sandhi of consonants. The works I have grouped together as belonging to the Aindra school, all agree in this respect with the Kātantra, wherever they have to enumerate a series of letters all the letters are mentioned, and are not expressed by a pratyāhāra as in Pāṇini⁴⁾. But in the last we find the system carried much further and used to express collectively a number of terminations which can be grouped together, *e. g.* tiñ stands for the 9 terminations (of the parasmaipada verb) -ti to -nti. In the Aindra works all these are severally enumerated.

Again the simplicity of the Aindra treatises⁵⁾ is very apparent in the absence of gaṇas (or a single word of a class followed by another meaning ‘and the like’ to indicate all the words of the class to which a rule or rules apply), but which exist in Pāṇini’s grammar in such numbers⁶⁾. Profr. Whitney’s remarks⁷⁾ must be quoted here. He says: “The form of statement (*i. e.* gaṇa) is characteristic of the Atharva prātiçākhyā⁸⁾ and

1) Cfr. the extract already given from Kielhorn’s “Paribhāṣenduçekhara” (above p. 25).

2) P. vi., 1, 78.

3) Kāt. 1, 2, 12-15.

4) Cfr. Kaoo. 1, 4, 6, etc.; Ṛik. pr. introductory lines and 1, 8-12; Atharva pr. 1, 41 and 58 etc.; Taitt. pr. 1, 81 etc.; Kāty. pr. 1, 65 and 66 etc.; Tolk. 1., 1, 3. (=“Of those letters five a, i, u, ē, ō are short”); 4 (=“Seven ā, ī, ū, e, o, ai, au are long”) etc.

5) Except the Atharva prātiçākhyā which is the most artificial in arrangement of all, though as a scientific treatise it is, in consequence, much simpler and more complete. Whitney (Ath. pr.) p. 248.

6) There are about 800 in Pāṇini’s Grammar. See Böhtlingk’s edition, vol. II. where most are given.

7) Atharva pr. 1, 65 (p. 48).

8) In the Ath. pr. there are about 24 gaṇas.

of Pāṇini, and of them only. The Vāj. Pr. employs it but once (v. 38), the others not at all (R. pr. iv., 39, where, for convenience's sake, a list is thus referred to in one verse which is given in full in the next, furnishes but one accidental and insignificant analogy)." The Taittirīya Prātiçākhyā does not give any satisfactory proof of the use of gaṇas, as only three occur (v., 40, Çaityāyanādi; xxiii., 11, mandrādi; xxiv., 4, axarasamhitādi), none of which are real gaṇas or lists of words unconnected except so far as they come under a rule, and the two last belong to parts of the treatise which are supposed to be additions¹⁾. The Tolkāppiyam is also wanting in gaṇas though they occur in the more recent Nannū²⁾. The Kātantra and Kaccāyana exhibit very few such gaṇas.

The natural conclusion is that gaṇas were hardly used by the Aindra grammarians, and there are signs that Pāṇini was the first to use them extensively even if he did not invent the system³⁾. Yet again, the comparison of the subject matter is of importance. It has been repeatedly noticed that some of the Prātiçākhyas contain irrelevant matter, and this is also the case with the Tolkāppiyam⁴⁾. In the last, besides the strictly grammatical part, the elements of rhetoric and metre, also observations on the method of teaching are given. So in the R̥gveda Prātiçākhyā the 15th chapter is a description of the method followed in a Vedic school, and chapters 16, 17 and 18 are on prosody. The Atharva and Kātyāyanīya Prātiçākhyas include recommendations of Vedic study⁵⁾. It is obvious that this inclusion of irrelevant matter is a characteristic of primitive treatises composed before grammar, etymology, prosody, and exegesis had been differentiated; a state of things that we find in the Brāhmaṇas where we must look for the beginning of Indian science. In these, metrical observations abound, and show that attention was paid very early to metres. In fact a fairly complete system of prosody could be gathered from the Brāhmaṇas though they only display the elements of grammar and etymology⁶⁾; and so far the older Sanskrit grammars agree

1) See Profr. Whitney's remarks on p. 432 of his edition.

2) In the Nannūl mudal is used as the equivalent of ādi.

3) For example he has three ways of expressing a gaṇa: 1) by ādi added to the first word of the class; 2) by prabh̥ṛiti added to the first word; 3) by the first word being put in the plural form.

4) Tolk. iii., 9. cfr. Nannūl, i.

5) Atharva pr. iv., 101-109. Kāty. pr. i., 20-26, viii., 32-34 and 35-42. Taitt. pr. xxiv., 5-6.

6) Cfr. Alt. Br. Gopathabr. etc. passim Profr. Max Müller has remarked on the etymological parts in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature (ed. 2), p. 153. See also Devatādhyāya Brāhmaṇa, § 3, and my preface (p. v.) in which this passage is compared with a passage in Yāska (p. 119 of Roth's edition).

with the nature of the earliest grammar-studies of the Greeks. Mr. Sayce says of the labours of the Sophists before Dionysius Thrax that they resulted in "a rough classification of the principal parts of speech for the purposes of oratorical study; but without the contrast afforded by another language these classifications could not but remain confused with rhetoric and devoid of all method and thorough-going arrangement"¹).

Thus from whatever point of view—arrangement, technical terms, style of composition or contents—we may consider the Aindra treatises (as I term them), it is plain that, though they differ in some respects between themselves, they represent a school of grammar older than that of Pāṇini. It would be interesting to compare the differences, which I have more than once noticed, but these are special niceties of grammar as applied to the texts used by different Vedic schools or *çākḥās*²) and do not belong to the science of grammar as understood in a general sense. It would, therefore, be unsafe to draw any conclusions from them even were the ascriptions of special doctrines to individual grammarians entirely beyond doubt. But this is not the case, and the reason for it is apparent: hardly any work belonging to the older or middle Sanskrit literature has escaped extensive rehandling and interpolation; the Aindra treatises belong to a system older than Pāṇini's, though there is perhaps reason to believe that not one of them is, as a whole, older than the grammar of the last. The influences under which these successive redactions were made have yet to be traced, but I shall give sufficient proof that they have been made³). Pāṇini's grammar has, in all probability, been little tampered with; we have better warrant for its integrity than in the case of any other work, but it would be premature to assert that it is absolutely intact. Yet, as it is, it furnishes a safe standard of comparison, and the result is against the texts of the *Prātiçākhyas* as we have them, and, above all, against the *Çākaṭāyana Grammar*.

It follows from the preceding enquiry that by the Aindra Grammar one must understand a school of grammar, and not a specific work by an individual; and if the passages in which the Aindra Grammar is mentioned, and which I have collected above be examined closely, it

1) "Principles of Comparative Philology" p. 246.

2) Yāska's "Nirukta" (Nāig. I. 17): "padaprakṛitīni sarvacaraṇānām pārshadāni". The remarks of Professors Goldstücker and Whitney are already given on p. 9 note 4. See also Profr. Whitney's "Or. Studies" I., p. 72. Ūvaṭa Bhaṭṭa calls the *Ṛikpr.* a *Pārshada*.

3) See Appendix.

will be seen that they really bear this meaning, and do not attribute an actual grammatical treatise to the god Indra. Thus Kātyāyana is made to talk of "my Aindra Grammar", and the Tolkāppiyam is "according to the Aindra (system)". Indra was fabled to have originated the science of grammar, but the Indra (or Aindra) Grammar was the primitive grammatical science as handed down by various teachers. Of these it is possible to draw up a considerable list of more or less certain names which I shall now give as complete as I can, leaving the consideration of existing works of the school to the end of this monograph, though I shall mark the names of those to whom existing books are attributed with a †.

Āgniveçya, T.	Gālava, N. P.
Āgniveçyāyana, T.	Gonardiya (? = Patañjali) Mh.
Āgrāyaṇa, N.	Bh.
Ātreya, T. Tamil CC.	† Gautama, T. (Gautamiyas) Mh.
Ānyatareya, Rik. pr.	Bh.
Āpiçali, P. Mh. Bh.	Carmaçiras, N.
Āhvarakas, T.	Cākṛavarmaṇa, P.
Ukhyā, T.	Jātūkarnya, K.
Uttamottariyas, T.	Taitiki, N.
Udicyas, (i. e. some of the individuals named in this list.)	Taittiriyakas, T.
Audumbarāyaṇa, N.	Dālbhya, K.
Aupamanyava, N.	Pañcālas, Rik. pr.
Aupaçivi, K.	Paushkarasādi, T. P. (vārtt.)
Aurṇavābha, N.	Prācyas, P. (i. e. some of the individuals named here.)
Kāṇḍamāyana, T.	Plāxāyaṇa, T.
Kāṇva, K.	Plāxi, T.
Kātthakya, N.	Bāḍabhikāra, T. (or Vāḍabhikāra)
Kāçakṛitsna, Mh. Bh.	Bābhṛavya Kramakṛit, Rik. pr.
Kāçyapa, K. T.	† Bhāradvāja, Rik. pr. T. (Bhāradvājīyas) Mh. Bh.
Kuṇara-Vādava, Mh. Bh.	† Māṇḍukeya, Rik. pr.
Kauṇḍinya, T. (Sthavira K.)	Mācakiya, T.
Kautsa, Rik. pr.	Mīmāṃsakas, T.
Kauhaliputra, T.	† Yāska, Rik. pr. T. Mh. Bh.
Kroshtriyāḥ, Mh. Bh.	Vātsapra, T.
Kraushṭuki, N.	
Gārgya, Rik. pr. K. P.	

Vātsya (Ath. pr., C.)
 Vārshyāṇi, N. Mh. Bh.
 † Vālmiki, T.
 Vedamitra, Rik. pr.
 † Vyāli, Vyādi?, Rik. pr., Mh. Bh.
 Çatabalāxa, Maudgalya
 † Çakatāyana, K. Ath. pr. P.,
 Mh. Bh.
 Çakapūni, N.
 Çakala pādakṛit, Rik. pr.
 Çakalas, Rik. pr.

Çakalya, Rik. pr. K. P.
 Çakalya (sthavira), Rik. pr.
 Çāṅkhāyana, T.
 Çaityāyana, T.
 † Çaunaka, K. Ath. pr. P.
 Sāṅkṛitya, T.
 Saunāgas?, Mh. Bh.
 Sthaulashthīvin, N.
 Sphotāyana, P.
 Hārīta¹⁾, T.

This list will show that grammatical studies flourished vigorously long before Pāṇini, and the fact is also evident from the many circumstances (incidentally mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*) which Profr. Weber has collected²⁾. But up to Pāṇini's time the direction these studies followed was limited, and this was caused by the circumstances under which grammatical studies arose—the supposed necessity of preserving the Vedic texts free from change. Thus it was that grammar became a *Vedāṅga* or a science auxiliary to the one great object of study—the Vedic texts; thus arose in Ancient India the necessity of a complete analysis of the phonetic elements of these texts. That this analysis was carried out with great accuracy of observation is shown by the *Prātiçākhyas*; they record an immense number of trivial facts and even the most unimportant variations, besides cautions against mispronunciation³⁾. These last are of the greatest interest, for they conclusively show that the observations were made long before the authors of the *Prātiçākhyas* had come into contact with the so-called Dravidian races. Of the errors in pronunciation which arise from this source, and which are perpetuated in many MSS., we do not find here the least trace. Thus it follows that the

1) I have endeavoured to make this list as complete as possible, and have used for this purpose Profr. Max Müller's list (A. S. Lit. as well as Profr. Weber's essay on the *Mahābhāṣya* in *Ind. Studien* xiii.) and the editions of the *Prātiçākhyas* already quoted. Rik. pr.=*Prātiçākhyas* of the *Rigveda*; T.=*Taittiriya prātiçākhyas*; Ath. pr.=*Atharva prātiçākhyas*; K.=*Kātyāyana*; P.=Pāṇini; N.=Yāska's *Nirukta*; Mh. Bh.=*Mahābhāṣya*.

2) "*Indische Studien*" xiii. pp. 408 ff. Profr. Weber remarks: "Wie sehr denn auch der Verf. des *Bhāṣya* in der Einleitung über den Verfall des grammatischen Studiums zu seiner Zeit klagt, sein Werk selbst, diese reiche darin citirte grammatische Literatur, und manche anekdotenartige Bemerkung darin, legen denn doch für das Gegentheil ein günstiges Zeugnis ab."

3) Rik. pr. a. xiv.

physiological analysis of sound which is by far the most remarkable feature of the Sanskrit Grammar belongs to the oldest stage of the science.

Of the development of the analysis of words and their forms before Pāṇini, it is also possible to trace something, though not much. For this materials must be sought in the Brāhmaṇas¹⁾. Some of these I have given already. At the risk of repetition, I shall here sum up the most important inferences. Indian literature of the earliest periods (like is now known to have been the case with nearly all nations) was in verse, and thus matters of prosody occupy the most important part of the discussions in the Brāhmaṇas, with respect to language. But there are indications that more than this was attained at an early period. Etymologies of (for the most part) a very frivolous kind occur in immense numbers. These show that doubts and difficulties had already arisen with reference to the ancient rites, and these etymologies are the obvious inventions of theologians who were driven to this resource to support their own views. But this led on to more, and the Brāhmaṇas show already²⁾ a discrimination between roots³⁾ and suffixes and grammatical forms. The analysis was, however, not *originally* grammatical. On one side, it was applied to a discussion of the minutest details of the analysis of sound and of the relations of the Pada and Samhitā texts⁴⁾—hence the Āṣṭādhyāyī and Prātiśākhya. On the other side it was etymological and philosophical—hence the Nirukta and syntactical discussions as regards the meaning of sentences. Of the early treatises that once existed we have unfortunately but few representatives, and these are imperfect⁵⁾; it is, however, not

1) It is greatly to be desired, when the Brahmanas and other Vedic treatises including the Sūtras may be edited, that some one should give a digest of all the matter they may contribute on such heads as: Geography, Grammar, Prosody, Geometry, etc. In 1869 ("Catalogue", p. 29) I called attention to the importance of parts of the Āṣṭādhyāyī as regards the early history of geometry. Dr. Thibaut (in a very remarkable paper read before the Oriental Congress, 1874) has since worked this out with important results. The other heads are not less worthy of notice; out of the Brāhmaṇas it will be possible to trace the gradual integration of all Indian knowledge. As regards grammar, see above, pp. 26-7.

2) See p. 27 (above) note 2.

3) It is perhaps not unnecessary to point out now that, of late, discussions have arisen regarding the value of the root-philology, that the objectionable term 'root' is not Indian. The original word 'dhātu' means 'element'; obviously free from the objections raised to 'root' which is a mistranslation arising out of the philology of the last century.

4) "Nirukta", Naig. i., 17 and Durgācārya's C. on this passage—see 'yām padaprakṛtiḥ samhitā | samhitāi 'va prakṛtiḥ vikāraḥ padāni.' Also Patañjali's "kāni punaḥ śabdānuṣaṅgasāmya prayojanāni? raxohāgamalaghvasandehāḥ prayojanam".

5) As seen long ago by Profr. Roth ("Nirukta", p. xx.).

difficult to infer with considerable certainty that they were in verse or *çlokas*. The oldest parts of the works which represent the primitive Sanskrit Grammar are in verse, and we find mention of very extensive grammatical and other works in *çlokas* (e. g. Vyādi's "Saṅgraha") which are anterior to Pāṇini¹⁾. What relics we still have of the primitive Sanskrit Grammar show that it must have been tolerably complete, and there is sufficient to show that these works did not exactly agree a) in technical terms, or b) in doctrine, but they agreed generally in their technical system and used mostly words, not symbols. Further inferences would be premature.

Before the time of Pāṇini, Vyākaraṇa was separately recognized as a Vedāṅga, but it is as well to remark that Vyākaraṇa as a science was intended, not any particular author's treatise on the subject. The incompleteness of even the *Ṛikprātiçākhyā* and the fact that it refers to one *çākhā* only of the *Ṛigveda* show that it cannot have been the real Vedāṅga-Vyākaraṇa, and Pāṇini's relatively recent date precludes the supposition²⁾ that his work was the one. That the commentators never intended by Vedāṅga to indicate any single work is shown by such statements as Durgācārya's "Vyākaraṇam aṣṭadhā niruktaṁ caturdaçādhā" (on i., 20), and the fact that by Kalpa (also a Vedāṅga) no one ever understood any particular Kalpasūtra out of the many that have existed and still exist³⁾.

We have seen that the science of grammar existed long before Pāṇini; but if it be taken into consideration that the earliest grammatical treatises must have been handed down orally, and that there is little reason to believe that writing was much used before Pāṇini's time⁴⁾, it is difficult to see how these treatises, repeated as school-books, could have escaped

1) Goldstücker "Pāṇini's Place", p. 80.

2) Goldstücker ("Pāṇini's Place" pp. 188-218) apparently takes Pāṇini's treatise to be the Vedāṅga. See also his remarks in the *Academy* (July, 9. 1870) pp. 270-1.

3) See the excellent remarks of Profr. Roth, "Nirukta", pp. xiv-xxii. and Sāyaṇa's C. on the *Ṛigv.* i., p. 84 (ed. Max Müller). The only possible way to give an intelligible meaning to the passages which mention the Vedāṅga Vyākaraṇa is to understand them as referring to the science of grammar and not to any special treatise or treatises.

4) See my "Elements of S. Indian Palæography" pp. 3-8. I may here add that writing as practised in India shows that the analysis of Sanskrit phonetics had been carried out by others than those by whom the use of writing was introduced; how otherwise can be explained the absence of a sign for the aspirate, e. g. as in *kh*, *gh* compared with *k* and *g*? Again, it was applied to the Vedas comparatively late; or why should we see *y* or *v* (e. g.) used to write *iy* and *uv*? (cfr. Regnier, "Étude sur l'idiome des Védas" p. 176 etc.)

modification and interpolation. Enough, however, remains to show conclusively that the two most important features of Sanskrit Grammar—the phonetic analysis and the resolution of words into dhātu and pratyaya—belong to its earliest stages and that these discoveries were made spontaneously in India¹).

A question naturally arises here—may not the identification of so many works with the Aindra Grammar, especially as they differ more or less among themselves, be too wide? May not, in short, some of them belong to others of the eight schools? The possibility of error which, of course, exists here seems not to be very material. The enumeration of eight schools of grammar belongs to the 12th century A.D., as has been already mentioned, and we certainly have several of these eight treatises in the condition in which they then were. About Ākaṭāyana's and Jinendra's Grammars there can be no doubt; both differ from the Aindra Grammars and Pāṇini's work in essential points, but they are far nearer to the last. This is also the case with the Candra Grammar which exists in Tibetan, and is known to be a mere improvement on Pāṇini²). The treatises of Kācākrītsna(-i), Āpiṇali and Amara remain, and of these we have no information; but it is difficult to see how any of the treatises I term Aindra, can possibly be by these authors; for nearly all these Aindra treatises profess to be by quite different authors, and there is no valid reason for supposing that these names have been changed: those we actually find attached to them are quite as illustrious as even Kācākrītsna, Āpiṇali or Amara³).

It appears to me that this last fact shows conclusively that at the time of the redaction of the Prātiśākhya to their present form the Vedas had already been reduced to writing; without written Vedas such passages as Rik. pr. xvii., 14 are quite unintelligible. The authorities who consider that the Vedas were written at the time the Prātiśākhya were composed are Roth, Böhlingk and, of course, Goldstücker. Those who take the opposite view are Weber, Müller, Haug and Westergaard. Much in the Prātiśākhya is, it appears to me, older than written Vedas, much also is later; thus both have reason for their views.

1) It is scarcely necessary to remark that it was Profr. Roth who (in the introduction to his edition of the Nirukta) first pointed out the necessary course of the development of Sanskrit Grammar.

2) Tāranātha, pp. 117 and 152 respectively.

3) The Āpiṇali of Pāṇini (vi., 1, 92) was probably a grammarian, but (to judge by a few quotations) the writer of this name referred to by the more recent authors (and Vopadeva?) was a lexicographer. He is quoted by Ujvaladatta (on Uṇādi s. i., 18 and iv., 174); also by Śāyana (in his Dhātuvṛtti) and in the Padaśāndrikā (1481 A.D.) as reported by Aufrecht (Z. d. d. M. G. xxviii., p. 111). If Vopadeva's Āpiṇali be a lexicographer (as his term 'gāndhika' would allow) the Amara he mentions may be the author of the Kosha.

Again it may be said: Čākaṭāyana was one of the oldest of the grammarians, but his technical terms and system entirely disagree with what has been shown above to be characteristic of the Aindra School. This is certainly the case, but I shall show further on¹⁾, that, as we have it, Čākaṭāyana's Grammar is a redaction of the old work done posterior to Pāṇini with a technical system in advance of even Pāṇini. It is for this reason that Vopadeva mentions Čākaṭāyana, for it is evident from the works of the eight grammarians that we still possess, that he mentions them for differences of technical system, and not for differences of doctrine: such differences of doctrine as we find actually recorded, or are possible, are very few and insignificant at the most, and would never have justified a distinction between grammarians who followed the same system of technical terms and arrangement, such as we find Vopadeva actually makes. With the Čākaṭāyana Grammar before us that Vopadeva must have seen, the mention of this work is intelligible. The differences of doctrine (as far as I have been able to find) are very small and few between Pāṇini, Čākaṭāyana and Jinendra; the differences between their technical systems are numerous and important. Lastly it must be remarked that though Vopadeva was well acquainted with the Kātantra²⁾, he does not mention it, and must, therefore, have included it under one of the eight schools which he knew as predecessors in the science. For these reasons I believe that my conclusions regarding the Aindra Grammar are substantially correct, and that further experience will tend to strengthen them; except, indeed, the general views of the chronology of Sanskrit literature as now received, be somehow entirely upset. But this contingency is barely possible; it is most improbable.

1) See Appendix.

2) The reasons for believing that Vopadeva knew of and used the Kātantra are very strong. a. He has copied some of the Kātantra terms, e.g. li for līṅga as the Commentator (on I., 12) remarks. b. The Kāvyaśāstram— a commentary on Vopadeva's Kavikalpadruma, and which is attributed by so good an authority as Durgadāsa to Vopadeva himself—quotes Trilocanadāsa's Kātantravṛttipañjikā which was not the first commentary on the Kātantra, and which must, therefore, be long anterior to Vopadeva's date. (Cfr. on this point Aufrecht's "Catalogus" pp. 170 and 175). Besides, c. Ujvaladatta (13th century) quotes the Kātantra though he did not know apparently of Vopadeva who lived a little before him. So Maitreya Raxita (the oldest writer on dhātus, cfr. Westergaard's "Radices" p. li.) also quotes the Kālāpa (or Kātantra) Grammar.

III.

It is now necessary to consider if it be possible to trace in any way the innovations Pāṇini made in the treatment of Sanskrit Grammar; it appears to me that this can be done successfully to a very considerable extent, though a difference of opinion must always exist as to a few details.

There can be no question that Pāṇini's Grammar made an epoch in Indian literature; his name occurs everywhere, his treatise soon superseded all others, and has exercised the ingenuity of a countless number of followers. Certainly, for near two thousand years, Pāṇini's word has been law in India on all questions of grammar. It is evident that for it to have gained such a position of authority in so conservative a country as India, it must have been vastly superior in the eyes of the Brahmans to all the numerous treatises which must have been in existence before Pāṇini's time: the Tibetan writers¹⁾ (whatever may have been their authority for saying so) cannot be far wrong in making out that Pāṇini's work was the first complete and systematic treatise on Grammar. It is also tolerably plain that the circumstances under which this book was composed differed greatly from the older stage of Indian history; without some contact with foreign peoples and bitter disputes among religious sects at home, such highly developed enquiry into language as Pāṇini's treatise displays, is contrary to all experience. Until Greeks began to teach their language to the Romans, grammar made but little progress²⁾, and the origin of Arabic and Hebrew Grammar is due to the contact of the Semitic races of Arabia with Persians, Syrians and other foreigners. The latest and most probable conclusions as to the date of Pāṇini point to such a period in Indian events, when Buddhism had become a prominent, if not the most prominent, religion in Northern India, and an intercourse with the Persians and Greeks had begun which soon became of vast importance owing to the long continuance of the Bactrian kingdom. The influence of Buddhism on grammatical studies has been lately pointed out by Mr. Sayce; he says³⁾: "it is very possible that the Sanskrit grammarians were excited to their work by the native dialects, which had been quickened into activity and raised to the level of respectability by the spread of

1) Tāranātha (by Schiefner) pp. 48 and 54 respectively.

2) Teuffel, "Geschichte der Römischen Literatur", § 50.

3) "Principles of Comparative Philology", p. 246.

Buddhism." This remark is, I believe, new, but it is perfectly just. Observations of dialectic variations of pronunciation and of forms of words occur very early in the Sanskrit grammatical literature, and if they are not to be found in Pāṇini's Grammar it is evident that the system of the work precludes insertion of such matter. There are several notices of provincialisms in the Mahābhāṣya which have been collected by Profr. Weber¹⁾, and the Mīmāṃsā sūtras attributed to Jaimini also shew that foreign or local words were early noticed even in the Vedas²⁾. Pāṇini's sūtras mention several foreign kingdoms, though it is not, perhaps, altogether safe to assume that some are not interpolations. Thus circumstances would lead, at the period when Pāṇini lived, to a far more comprehensive and philosophical study of language than had as yet obtained, remarkable in every way though the results already arrived at were; and, as there is much reason to believe that Sanskrit was, at that time, rapidly becoming extinct, this must also have led to increased zeal in observing and classifying facts. The history of grammatical studies in many other countries points irresistably to this conclusion.

Pāṇini's innovations come (as far as I have been able to trace them) under four heads: (1) the invention of the Çivasūtras and of the use of pratyāhāras for groups of terminations; also the extensive use of gaṇas, if not their invention; (2) the invention of a new system of anubandhas; (3) the invention or more exact use of several technical terms; (4) the use of a technical syntax and a more elaborate system of sūtras.

1. The entire absence of the Çivasūtras as part of the technical system of the Aindra treatises has been already repeatedly noticed³⁾, as also the absence of such pratyāhāras as tiñ, sup, tañ⁴⁾ which are formed on the same principle, i. e., by giving the first and last letter of a series of letters or terms. I may add here that the Sanskrit grammarians have always regarded the Çivasūtras as the essence or revealed part of his grammar. Thus Nāgoji says: "teshām anāditvād eshām Pāṇinikṛi-

1) "Indische Studien", xiii., pp. 365-6.

2) See Jaimini's I., 3, 10 and Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's C. on this passage. The çixās notice some such details (Haug, "Ved. Accent", p. 64).

For the Indian philological views regarding foreign languages see my "Elements of S. Indian Palaeography" p. 85. In this respect the Indian grammarians were, perhaps, weakest. See Profr. Max Müller's A. S. L. (2nd. ed.) pp. 117-8 on the early observation of dialectical and other peculiarities; also his note in Z. d. d. M. G. Vol. vii. on the same subject.

3) pp. 23, 24, 29.

4) pp. 29-30.

tatvāt"—for those (Çivasūtras) are without origin, these (the rest of the grammar) were composed by Pāṇini. So the original edition of Pāṇini¹⁾ edited under Colebrooke's superintendence begins with the verse:

Yenā 'xarasamāmnāyam adhigamya Maheçvarāt |
Kṛitsnam vyākaraṇam proktam tasmai Pāṇinaye namaḥ ||

This is from the Pāṇiniya-çixā (Yajurv. recension, edited by Weber, p. 359), and, therefore, is probably of a very respectable age. But I think that Pāṇini's authorship is also proved by his explanation of the use of these sūtras (i., 1, 71)—"ādir antyena sahe 'tā". If he were not the first to use these sūtras, his explanation, as here given, is superfluous and contrary to his own expressed intention.

I have remarked above on the use of gaṇas in the various grammatical treatises which I have compared.

2. The invention of a new system of anubandhas. This is stated by Patañjali in a passage which was first pointed out by the late Profr. Goldstücker²⁾. This passage is as follows; it occurs in the discussion on the sūtra vii., 1, 18 ("auṇa āpaḥ")—"athavā pūrvasūtranirdeço 'yam | pūrvasūtreshu ca ye 'nubandhā na tair ihe 'tkāryāṇi kriyante"³⁾. Patañjali here states that there were grammatical sūtras by predecessors of Pāṇini in which anubandhas were used, but that they had no effect in Pāṇini's treatise. This statement is of great value, for it settles a question which would be otherwise left undetermined by the existing Aindra treatises. Anubandhas do not occur in the Tolkāppiyam: indeed, it is impossible to see what use they could be in a grammar of one of the so-called Dravidian languages. Nor is there any place for them in the Prātiçākhyas. It would be useless to consider the Kātantra and Kaccāyana's Grammar which furnish a few, as these do not throw any light on the subject; the latter treatise expressly states that "technical terms (used) by other (grammarians) are used (here)"⁴⁾. It would thus be very hazardous to draw any inferences from a comparison of these with the anubandhas used by Pāṇini, for we have not a standard such as the Tolkāppiyam furnishes in respect of the technical terms, and the few that occur in the Kātantra are again different. The differences between Sanskrit

1) Calcutta, Ç. 1781. p. 1.

2) "Pāṇini's Place", p. 181 (Sep. Imp.).

3) Benares ed. f. 57.

4) ed. Senart, p. 10 (sūtra. i., 1, 9). The sūtra appears to include anubandhas as well as technical terms such as are mentioned by the commentary.

and Pali would naturally lead to a difference of treatment in this respect; nor is there any reason to believe that the old grammarians who preceded Pāṇini were more uniform in respect of the anubandhas they used than in their use of technical terms. The fact remains that Pāṇini invented a new system, and it is obvious that the principle on which he selected the letters he uses as prefixes and suffixes, was the avoidance, if possible, of unnecessary confusion; he has not, however, always succeeded, but his display of ingenuity is very remarkable.

3. The invention or more exact use of several technical terms.

The technical terms used by Pāṇini are of two kinds: *a*) a word used as a type of a class; or *b*) a purely conventional symbol (*kṛitrimāṣ samjñāḥ* as Patañjali calls them).

Of the first (*a*) class the following are examples:—*kṛit*, as a name of the affixes by which primary nouns are formed; *nadī*, a name for certain feminine nouns in *-ī* and *-ū*; *strī*, as a name of feminine nouns; *gotra*, as a general name for descendants of a man; *saṅkhyā*, as a name of numerals. The origin of these is evident; except the two last mentioned, they appear to be the first words of original *gaṇas*. Such terms we find in the *Kātantra*¹⁾ and it is probable that they formed part of the older treatises.

The terms of the second class are remarkable; examples in Pāṇini are—*gha* (= *-tara* and *-tama*); *ghi* (= *-i* and *-u*); *ghu* (= $\sqrt{\text{da}}$, $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}$, etc.); *ṭi* (=the last vowel in a word and following consonant or consonants); *bha* used as a name of what Bopp termed the weakest cases; *it*—as a name of anubandhas.

Of these *ghu*, *ṭi* and *bha* are certainly older than Pāṇini, if we are to believe Patañjali, as the late Profr. Goldstücker pointed out. Similar symbols occur in the *Kātantra*²⁾ and still more in Kaccāyana's grammar³⁾ though (as might be expected) not identical with Pāṇini's. These symbols must, therefore, have been used in the older treatises. Here again we have no standard of comparison, for such terms are wanting in the *Tolkāppiyam*, but it seems likely that there were many such symbols in use, for we find others in the *Vājasaneyya Prātiçākhyā*⁴⁾. Pāṇini probably made a selection, and used those more accurately (as Goldstücker sug-

1) *e. g.* *Agni* (ii., 1, 8); *nadī* (ii., 1, 9 etc.); *ṣradddhā* (ii., 1, 10), etc.

2) *e. g.* *Ghuṭ* (ii., 1, 3. for the *sarvanāmasthāna* cases); *dhuṭ* (ii., 1, 18); *nu* (ii., 2, 11) etc.

3) *Ga*, a name of the vocative (ii., 1, 6); *gha*, final *ā* (ii., 1, 9); *jha* (ii., 1, 7); *pa* (ii., 1, 8); *la*, etc.

4) *e. g.* *aim*, *jit*, *mud*, *dhi* as names of classes of letters.

gested); others, again, such as çlu, luk, etc. are probably his own invention. It would be interesting to discuss all the symbols we find used in the earlier and later grammatical treatises, but this laborious task would only show the growth of method in Sanskrit Grammar, and would throw no light on the point to which I have devoted this monograph.

The origin of these symbols is an interesting question, but involved in much obscurity. Some are, no doubt, merely arbitrary symbols, but others are, it is certain, the abbreviations of real words. Thus Dr. Bühler has suggested that 'iti' is for 'iti', a derivation that at once commends itself. It is certain that the symbols used in the Phulla (resp. Pushpa) sūtras (which teach the formation of the Sāma verses as recited) are merely mutilated words; thus, *e. g.* bha is for sto-bha; tara for rathan-tara; hārādi for prati-hārādi¹⁾.

Thus, in respect of symbolic and other technical terms, the only possible conclusion is, that Pāṇini used some of those invented by his predecessors, made them more precise, and added new terms of his own. He extended this system, originally only applied to details, to the entire grammar; his system banishes all traces of the philosophical analysis of the language, and presents a purely conventional representation in which phonetics and etymology, originally kept separate, are completely fused.

4. The use of a more elaborate and technical syntax and a more elaborate system of sūtras.

Here it is possible to arrive at a more exact conclusion as to what innovations Pāṇini made²⁾. It has been well remarked by Regnier that the tendency in the Sanskrit style of composition is to exaggerate synthesis³⁾, and this peculiarity is carried to excess in the sūtras of Pāṇini

1) As was first pointed out by Profr. Weber, "Ind. Studien" i., p. 46.

2) Profr. Max Müller has distinguished the several styles of composition which can be found in the earlier Sanskrit (Vedic) works, in his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature".

3) "Étude sur l'idiome des Védas" (1855) p. vii. As this book is not common I shall give a few of M. Regnier's excellent remarks: "Cette gradation toujours croissante de la synthèse finit par aboutir à un dernier degré, qui est vraiment, ce semble, la dernière et infranchissable limite de la puissance de combinaison au moyen du discours. Je me hâte de dire, et on le comprend avant que je le dise, que ce dernier excès appartient à une manière de langage tout artificielle. L'ultrasynthétisme peut être naturel et populaire; les idiomes de certains peuples sauvages nous en donnent la preuve; mais, dans ces idiomes, cette fusion, qu'on peut appeler confusion, tient à ce qu'ils ne savent pas décomposer, discerner les éléments de la pensée; tandis que, dans l'exode de combinaison dont je parle, c'est avec des matériaux bien distincts, des mots que la grammaire et le lexique présentent comme autant d'unités séparées,

who has not only exhausted the natural resources of the copious system of inflections presented by Sanskrit, but has added new and peculiar meanings to some of the cases—such as the ablative and locative¹⁾, and with him even the arrangement of words is full of meaning²⁾. But there is nothing of this in the works that I have classed together as belonging to the Aindra School, which are all written in a concise but hardly technical style; the sūtras are aphorisms and are sometimes obscure, but they are not algebraical formulas like the sūtras of Pāṇini. Again in the sūtras of Pāṇini we find a syntactical concatenation which is almost wanting in the older sūtras, *e. g.* a sūtra is often of a word or words in the genitive case, but this is required by a nominative in a sūtra, often far before it.

It is hardly necessary to remark that the sūtra style was in use before Pāṇini and that Patañjali mentions grammatical sūtras anterior to him, but he refined on this style of composition to a great extent. Thus (as grammarians tell us) he omitted the paribhāṣhās³⁾ or rules respecting the logical method of his treatise, and which always form a part of Indian scientific treatises. The almost incredible complications of the Pāṇiniya paribhāṣhās are now—thanks to Profr. Kielhorn—no longer an insuperable difficulty to students. These sūtras chiefly determine conflicts of rules and similar matters, and present the greatest contrast to the simple method of the older treatises which have only the simple artifice of division into adhikaraṇas or topics.

This very brief survey of Pāṇini's technical system enables us to add a few new details in regard to the system of his predecessors, which cannot be gathered from the existing treatises that represent now the earlier

qu'on parvient à former sciemment et à dessein cette chaîne de ténèbres dont parle, dans un autre sens, le livre de la Sagesse, *catena tenebrarum*, et à enfermer la pensée dans les liens d'une longue nuit, *vinculis longae noctis compedire* (ch. xvii., v. 2 et 17), ou des esprits européens, habitués à la forme de la pensée moderne, ont souvent bien de la peine à porter la lumière et à trouver leur voie. J'ai dit qu'une telle manière d'écrire ne pouvait être qu'artificielle, et elle l'est en effet. C'est dans la prose philosophique et technique que nous la rencontrons. Je ne veux pas parler de l'algèbre des grammairiens, des formules de Pāṇini: il y a dans la construction de ces axiomes une grande puissance d'esprit, et la langue y montre une incroyable aptitude à la conclusion; mais ce n'est point là du style, c'est comme je le disais, de l'algèbre. La forme de discours et de construction que j'ai en vue ici, je la trouve dans l'exposition et dans la dialectique des grammairiens, des interprètes."

1) "Tasmād ity uttarasya" i., 1, 67; "tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya" i., 1, 66.

2) *e. g.* "Sthāne 'ntaratamaḥ" i., 1, 50; "yathāsaṅkhyam anuḍeṣaḥ samānām" i., 3, 10.

3) Profr. Kielhorn's "Paribhāṣhendugekṣara" p. i.

stages of Sanskrit Grammar, but which do not contradict the results arrived at by an examination of those works. So far, then, the results at which I have arrived are confirmed from this point of view.

It has long been recognized that Pāṇini's date is of the utmost importance in Indian literary history, and it has been discussed with great care¹⁾. The result, as now accepted, is that he lived in the 4th century B. C.; I cannot see that there is any reason why he should not be placed nearly a century later, which would remove some difficulties that the earlier date presents. But, though his name will always be great, we do know but little about him, and there is no probability that we shall ever know more. That he was born at Ālātura in the extreme north-west of India is certain; his mother's name was Dāxī²⁾, or perhaps this only indicates her race³⁾. His life was probably uneventful, though tradition says that he met with a violent death, being killed by a lion⁴⁾.

Whatever merits may be fairly attributed to his predecessors, it cannot be disputed that Pāṇini's work was stupendous in respect of Sanskrit, and he made a good beginning of a grammar of the Vedic language. For two thousand years no one in India has been able to do better. It is thus no matter for surprise that his life should be the subject to which (like that of his still greater countryman Buddha)⁵⁾ the common-places of mythology have attached themselves. In the story of the idle stupid boy who suddenly became the greatest scholar that India ever saw, one can recognize the "Boots" or "Aschenputtel" of our nursery tales⁶⁾—he sits idle and despised at home, till the time comes for his real nature to show itself. That he got supernatural assistance is also in accordance with the same old stories, and in this particular case is entirely in unison with the Buddhist and Vedantist notions; that Īiva gave this aid, seems to have arisen out of the popular name for the first 14 sūtras being

1) The latest are Profr. Goldsttoker's "Pāṇini's Place", and Profr. Weber's strictures on it in Vol. V. of his "Indische Studien", pp. 1-176 (1862).

2) Patañjali on vii., 1, 18.

3) The "Samyamināmamālikā" by a Āṇkara (Tanjore MS. No. 10. 463) has (çl. 5-6). Granthakartā ca sūtrakṛt (5) Ālāturiyako Dāxīputraḥ Pāṇinir Āhikaḥ |

4) Pañcatantra ed. Kosegarten ii., 34 (= ii., 32 of the Bombay edition, but not in the oldest recension): Simho vyākaraṇasya kartur aharat prāṇān priyān Pāṇineḥ.

5) See Senart's "Essai sur la légende du Buddha" in the "Journal Asiatique" vii. 1ère série, t. ii., pp. 118 ff.

6) Grimm "Kinder- und Hausmärchen", iii., pp. 87-9. Dasent "Tales from the Norse" *passim* cfr. also the Psalm cl. (in some old rituals): "Pusillus eram inter fratres meos, et adolescentior in domo patris mei" etc. (of David)—"Ps. Mozarabicum" (ed. 1775) lxx., a.

misunderstood. The only fact in the legend is that Pāṇini's grammar superseded those of his predecessors; and these, with reference to the Vedic legend already¹⁾ given, became an 'Indra Grammar'. The reason why this name was given to treatises by his predecessors is not far to seek. Like all Indian sciences, grammar began out of a study of the texts used for sacrificial purposes, and when by imperceptible degrees it became a rudimentary science, a divine origin was, as a matter of course, attributed to it. Taught orally and writing being almost unknown, the primitive systems could not preserve enough individuality to bear the names of their authors, and were in the same position as the Brāhmaṇas. When writing became more general, Pāṇini's genius could thus render his name lasting; the names of most of his predecessors could only be recollected in connection with details in which they differed, or by their discoveries.

IV.

I shall now try to enumerate the different treatises in Sanskrit and other languages which appear to attach themselves to the Aindra or older Grammar. I shall do so briefly, as several of the most important are known by editions that have nothing remaining to be said, and others in MSS. are as yet beyond my reach or are of comparatively little value. We may reasonably expect to see in a few years more, sufficient descriptions of the Sanskrit and Pali MSS. known at present by name only, and then I may hope to be able to continue what I have here begun, and to attempt to show the historical development of the Aindra as opposed to the Pāṇiniya grammar. To begin with the Phonetic treatises—

- first in Sanskrit we have the tracts called *Çixā*, most of which have been only recently discovered. Those actually known are mentioned in ordinary type; those only known by quotation are in spaced type.
- I. SANSKRIT.
- a. *Çixās*.

1. Amoghanandinī *çixā*²⁾

Āraṇyaka*çixā*³⁾

C.

Kātyāyana*çixā*⁴⁾

Kāhala*çixā*⁵⁾

5. Keçavī *çixā*⁶⁾

1) p. 6, note 4.

2) Rājendralāl Mitra, "Notices" I., p. 72.

3) Mysore Cat. No. 51.

4) Rājendralāl Mitra, "Report", p. 18.

5) Mentioned in the C. on the Siddhānta*çixā*.

6) Rājendralāl Mitra, "Report", p. 18.

Kauçikī çixā ¹⁾	Māṇḍūkī çixā ¹⁴⁾
Gautamī çixā ²⁾	15. Lomaçanyaçixā ¹⁵⁾ or Lomeçiç.
Taittiriyaçixā (?) ³⁾	(by Garga)
Nāradaçixā ⁴⁾	Vālmīkiçixā ¹⁶⁾
C. (Nāradiyaçixāvivarāṇa)	Vaçiṣṭhaçixā ¹⁷⁾
by Çobhākara ⁵⁾	Vyāsaçixā ¹⁸⁾
10. Pāṇiniyaçixā, two recensions ⁶⁾	Vyākhyāna by Svarāva-
a. R̥gveda	dhānin ¹⁹⁾
b. Yajurveda	Çambhuçixā ²⁰⁾
CC. by Çeṣha and another ⁷⁾	20. Çixādicatusṭṭaya (?) ²¹⁾
there is also a	Çixāsamuccaya ²²⁾
C. by Sāyaṇa ('Çixābhāṣya') ⁸⁾	Sarvasammataçixā ²³⁾
C. (Svaravigraha) ⁹⁾	— Commentary ²⁴⁾
Pārāçaraçixā ¹⁰⁾	Siddhāntaçixā by Çrinivāsin
Bodhāyanaçixā ¹¹⁾	— Vyākhyāna ²⁵⁾
Bhāradvājaçixā ¹²⁾	24. Hāritaçixā ²⁶⁾
— Vyākhyāna ¹³⁾	

1) "Notices," i., p. 72.

2) Haug, "Ueber das Wesen" u. s. w. p. 61, n. 1. This exists in the Tamil country.

3) Whitney, "Taitt. Prātiç." p. 435 (cfr. xx., 12). See also extracts from a similar work quoted in the C. of the Ath. pr. (ed. Whitney, p. 261).

4) See my "Catalogue" p. 42. Haug u. s. p. 55, n. 1 "Notices", i., p. 78. Profr. Haug's remarks render it probable that two recensions exist.

5) "Notices", i., p. 78.

6) Both edited by Profr. Weber—"Indische Studien" iv., pp. 345-371.

7) Gujarat Catalogue (by Bühler), i., p. 206 (No. 56) and p. 210 (No. 75).

8) N. W. Prov. Catalogue, pp. 14 and 34 (Nos. 46 and 102).

9) Oudh Catalogue, iv., p. 6.

10) "Report", p. 18.

11) Mentioned in C. on Siddhānta çixā. See my Catalogue, p. 9.

12) My Catalogue, p. 8. Guj. Cat. i., p. 206 (No. 60).

13) Mysore Catalogue, No. 51.

14) Haug, u. s. p. 55. Weber, "Pratijñāsūtrā" pp. 106 ff. "Notices" i., p. 73.

15) "Report", p. 18. Haug, u. s. p. 61. "Notices", i., p. 71.

16) Mentioned in the C. on the Siddhānta. and by Ahobala Bhaṭṭa in his C. on the Āndhra-çabdacintāmaṇi.

17) Mentioned in the C. on the Siddhānta. Mysore Cat. No. 51.

18) Mysore Cat. No. 52. Mentioned by Ahobala Bhaṭṭa.

19) Mysore No. 52.

20) Mentioned in the C. on the Siddhāntaçixā.

21) Gujarat Cat. i., p. 210 (No. 74). Probably Çixā, Jyotiṣha, Chandas and Nirukta.

22) Mysore Cat. No. 57.

23) Do. do. do.

24) My Catalogue, p. 8. Mysore Cat. No. 51.

25) Do. p. 9. do. do.

26) Mentioned in the C. on the Siddhāntaçixā. See my "Catalogue", p. 9.

Of these the first, fifth, twenty-first and twenty-third are most probably modern compilations; several others (Gautamī, Nārada, Maṇḍūkī and Lomaçanya) refer to the Sāmaveda, and it is thus difficult to compare them with other grammatical works, for reasons I have already given; the age of the remaining ones is not yet positively determined, and before this can be attempted in a satisfactory manner, critical editions must be published¹⁾. Dr. Haug²⁾ is inclined apparently to think that they represent an earlier stage than the Prātiçākhyas, and distinguishes the two classes of works very aptly. He says³⁾: "Was nun den Inhalt der Çixās und Prātiçākhyas betrifft, so ist er nicht identisch, wenn sie auch Vieles gemeinsam haben, da der Zweck für welche beide Arten von Werken verfasst sind, ein Verschiedener ist. Die Çixās lehren nur die Aussprache und Recitation der wedischen Texte im Allgemeinen, und beziehen sich auf keine bestimmte Form derselben; die Prātiçākhyas dagegen setzen immer einen Pada-Text voraus, und lehren, wie aus demselben eine Samhitā zu construiren ist. In den çixās dagegen sind alle Differenzen des Samhitā-Textes von dem des Pada ausgelassen; ebenso fehlen alle Andeutungen über den Krama. Das chronologische Verhältniss der çixās zu den Prātiçākhyas anlangend, so halte ich die ersteren für entschieden älter als die letztere. Die erstern waren vorhanden, ehe sich das Bedürfniss nach den letztern regte. Die Prātiçākhyas setzen bereits eingehende grammatische Studien voraus, während für die çixās ein geringeres Mass derselben verlangt wird. Zudem können die Prātiçākhyas nur zu einer Zeit entstanden sein, als man anfang, den Wedatext in die verschiedensten Formen zu bringen, um ihn desto unverfälschter überliefern zu können. Diess war ohne Zweifel ein langer Process, der solche Elementarkenntnisse in der Phonetik voraussetzt, wie wir sie in den çixās finden. Die Prātiçākhyas, die nach einem umfassenderen Plane, als die çixās angelegt waren, nahmen nicht nur (64) die Lehren dieser in sich auf, sondern führten sie auch weiter." It would be difficult to explain the existence of the çixās on other grounds than those here stated, and it is obvious that these Tracts, though perhaps owing their present forms to relatively late reductions, preserve much that is really primitive. Profr. Weber has lately pointed out one verse in the Pāṇiniyaçixā (R. 52), which is quoted by Patañjali⁴⁾.

1) I believe that we may soon hope to see two or three edited by Profr. Kielhorn.

2) u. s. p. 53 ff.

3) Do. p. 68-4.

4) "Indische Studien", xiii, p. 399.

The term Pāṇiniya as applied to this *çixā* would merely show that it was popular after Pāṇini's time; for it is very common to find that in India substantially old works have modern claptrap names assigned to them¹. But there is much in it actually copied from Pāṇini. Thus we find occasionally *pratyāhāras*, e.g. 'eñ', though the old system is also followed (çl. 29 etc.). Pāṇini is also mentioned by name as Dāxiputra. Other verses are probably primitive.

To this class of works (but to a very limited extent) the Pushpa (or rather Phulla) *sūtra* belongs; it teaches how to form the *gaṇas* of the *Sāmaveda*, and so far as the discussion of the phonetic elements goes, it uses the old terms and not *pratyāhāras*.

The next important class of phonetic treatises that can be connected with the Aindra School of grammar includes the *Prātiçākhyas*; all of these that have been discovered have been edited in an incomparable manner. They are as follows:

1. *Rigvedaprātiçākhyā* (attributed to Çaunaka), edited and translated (in German and French) by Profr. Max Müller and Mons. A. Regnier².

On this there are two commentaries; the oldest is a *vṛitti* discovered by Profr. Eggeling in a Grantha MS., and described by him in the preface to Profr. Max Müller's edition. The best known commentary is the '*Pārshadavyākhyā*' by Ūvaṭa Bhaṭṭa, son of Vajraṭa, an inhabitant of Ānandapura (? Benares). This was first brought into notice by Profr. Roth³, and exists in many MSS. Copious extracts from it are given by Mons. Regnier. The introduction (from Tanjore MS. No. 2417) is as follows:

Sūtrabhāṣyakṛitāḥ sarvān praṇamya çirasā çuciḥ |
 Çaunakam ca viçeshena yene 'dam pārshadam kṛitam ||
 Tathā vṛittikṛitāḥ sarvāns tān sūtrayaçasas tathā |
 Teshām prasādād eteshām svaçaktyā vṛittim ārabhe ||
 Lekhyadoshanivṛittyartham vistarārtham kvacit kvacit |
 Jñānārtham paṭhanārtham ca yojyate sā mayā punaḥ ||
 Tasyāḥ sāmāpane çaktim ta eva pradiçantu me |
 Labdhvā kāmam aham tebhyaḥ prameyam pāram īpsitam ||
 Campāyām nyavasat pūrvam Vatsānām kulam ṛiddhimat |
 Yasmin dvijavarā jātā bahvṛicāḥ pāragottamāḥ ||

1) Thus Dr. Bühler has ascertained that the *Vishṇu Smṛiti* is really the *Kāṭhaka Dharma* (Z. d. D. M. G.) xxii., p. 327.

2) 1856-1859 and 1857-1869.

3) "Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Weda", 1846. The introduction is also given there.

Devamitra iti khyātas tasmiñ jāto mahāmatih |
 Sa cai 'sha pārshadaçreshṭhaḥ sutas tasya mahātmanaḥ ||
 Nāmnā tu Vishṇumitraḥ sa kumāra iti çasyate |
 Tene 'yam yojitā vṛittih samxiptā pārshade sphuṭā ||
 Parigrihṇantu viprendrāḥ suprasannā imām mama |
 Ajñānād yad ayuktam syāt tad ṛijukṛitya gṛihyatām ||
 Çāstrāvātāram sambandham shaḍvidham parikīrtayan |
 Jñātvā grāhyam bhavec chāstrāvātāram ucyate ||
 Atha—Çaunako grihapatir vai naimishiyais tu samsthitaiḥ |
 Dixāsu coditāḥ prāha sattre tu dvādaçāhike || iti
 Çāstrāvātāram smaranti etc.

2. Taittiriya-prātiçākhyā of the Black Yajurveda.

This, together with its commentary ("Tribhāshyaratna"), has been edited and translated by Profr. Whitney¹. The author of the commentary is not known; he professes to follow Vararuci, Ātreya and Māhisheya who had composed commentaries on this treatise but which are now apparently lost². It cannot be of any considerable antiquity as it refers to a 'Kālanirnaya'³ which is probably the work by Sāyaṇa (14th century).

3. Vājasaneyi or Kātyāyana-Prātiçākhyā of the White Yajurveda.

This has been edited with extracts from Ūvaṭa's C., and translated (into German) by Profr. Weber⁴.

Another Commentary ("Prātiçākhyajyotsnā") is quite recent viz., of the end of the last or beginning of this century; it is by one Rāmācandra son of Siddheçvara. A section of it has been published by Thibaut⁵.

4. Çaunakiya-Cāturādhyāyikā, which Profr. Whitney has edited and translated into English⁶. He has demonstrated that it belongs to the Atharvaveda. There is an anonymous commentary which Profr. Whitney has used⁷.

A Prātiçākhyā of the Sāmaveda is alluded to by Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa⁸, but it is not quite clear what he intends, and a work of this name has

1) 1871 (New Haven).

2) pp. 6-7 and 434-5.

3) p. 435.

4) "Indische Studien", iv., pp. 65-160 and 177-331 (1858).

5) "Das Jeṭāpātala" (1870), pp. 36-53.

6) 1862 (New Haven).

7) See Profr. Weber's "Verzeichniss" p. 87 (No. 361).

8) Goldstücker in the 'Academy', 9th July 1870 p. 275: "Sāmāxapamprātiçākhyam çāstram." Several existing books partly answer to this description, e.g. the Riktantra and Sāmātantra.

not, as yet, been discovered. It is also likely that some other works of the same nature may yet be in existence. Dr. Haug remarks¹⁾: "Ich zweifle nicht, dass noch weitere Prātiçākhyas aufgefunden werden; so vermisse ich bis jetzt das zu der Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā, die so vieles Eigenthümliche hat, und gewiss ein besonderes Prātiçākhyā besitzt". Theoretically the number of these works should correspond with the number of the Vedic çākhās, but it may be reasonably doubted if this ever was the case.

c. Etymological
and general treatises
on Grammar.

The Çixās and Prātiçākhyas represent, so far, one side of the oldest form of the Aindra Grammar—the phonetic analysis of the language; the other side—etymology, is of equal interest, but unfortunately there is little left to represent the older system in this respect. The numerous passages in the Brāhmaṇas have already been mentioned²⁾, but apart from these we have only one Nirukta (out of 14 that once existed) viz.,

I. Yāska's Nirukta, a treatise well-known by Profr. Roth's edition³⁾, and which, though it exists in two recensions⁴⁾, is, no doubt, preserved nearly in its original condition. Yāska gives a general view of the etymological principles known in his time⁵⁾, but the arrangement of the book is not grammatical, and to exhibit his system of analysis of words and grammatical forms would require too much space to be possible here; it generally agrees with the so-called Aindra treatises⁶⁾. It must be remarked that there were two schools of etymologists—those headed by Çakatāyana who asserted that every noun was derived from a dhātu, and others headed by Gārgya who only gave a partial assent to this theory. Yāska's treatise was not neglected by commentators of whom the earliest appears to have been

a. Skāndasvāmin. The commentary (tīkā) by this writer is often quoted⁷⁾, but is not as yet known to scholars, though it appears to be in existence⁸⁾.

1) u. s. p. 63.

2) pp. 26 ff.

3) 8° Göttingen, 1852.

4) ed. Roth p. iv.

5) ed. Roth p. 81, translated by Profr. Max Müller, in his A. S. L. pp. 164 ff.

6) See above, p. 12.

7) By Durgācārya and Sāyana in his C. on the R̥igveda.

8) Central Prov. Cat. p. 8, No. 39—"Niruktaṭīkā", 36 ll. 1200 ślokas. (? Incomplete) Durgācārya also calls it Niruktaṭīkā.

3. Durgācārya wrote a copious commentary—the Niruktavṛtti; this is well known and exists in several MSS. The author seems to have been a native of S. India, and probably lived in the 15th or 16th century A. D. His introduction is one of the most interesting parts of his book, as he there gives an account of his authorities and method; I have already printed it in the introduction to my edition of the *Vamçabrāhmaṇa*¹⁾.

No general treatise on grammar of a date previous to Pāṇini appears to be now extant in its original condition, though there must have been several such, and some at least appear to have been preserved down to Kaiyaṣa's time. Thus he mentions Kuṇi as a predecessor of Pāṇini, but this name does not occur in the older books. Again the Saunāgas, Kuṇara Vaḍava and Vaḍava are also mentioned by the commentators as well as a work, the 'Bhrāja-Ḣlokas' by Kātyāyana, which was probably an Aindra treatise. Lastly, the Saṅgraha of Vyāli may also have belonged to the same school.

There are some smaller tracts which, though since modified, apparently took their origin from the Aindra School. Such are

II. 1. *Ḣāntanava's "Phitsūtras."*

2. *Jaṭāpātala*, attributed in S. India to Vyādi.

These (and, perhaps, some others) just retain sufficient of the old terms to show their origin, but it is evident that they have been repeatedly altered.

d. Kātantra and systems of Grammar derived from it.

The next work of this school in chronological position, and, therefore, in importance, is the Kātantra. Around this, besides commentaries, it will be convenient to group some other allied books.

I. Kātantra or Kālāpa-Vyākaraṇa. This is now well-known by Profr. Eggeling's excellent edition begun in the *Bibl. Indica*. The author's name is commonly given as Sarvavarman²⁾.

Commentaries on it are:

a. Kātantravṛtti by Durgasimha, edited by Profr. Eggeling in his edition of the text. On this there is more than one commentary. The author wrote a 'ṭikā' on his own Vṛtti, and again a series of notes—'Candrikā'. There are also notes on Durgasimha's Vyākhyā (?vṛtti) by Caṅga Dāsa³⁾.

1) Preface pp. xxxi-xxxiii.

2) The Tibetans, however, say Saptavarman. Colebrooke ("Essays" II., p. 44) says: "The rules or aphorisms are ascribed to the God Kumāra. It is much used in Bengal."

3) Oudh Cat. vi., p. 6.

aa. Kātantravṛttipañjikā, by Trilocanadāsa¹⁾.

aaa. A gloss on the last, by Suseṇācārya²⁾.

b. Kātantralaghuvṛtti, by Bhāvasena.

This is a Jain treatise which I found in 1872 in the province of S. Canara. It follows the C. of Durgasimha (which it quotes) very closely, and begins:

Sarvajñam sarvavāgīṣam bhuktimuktipradāyakam |
Natvā Kātantrasūtrāṇām laghuvṛttir vidhāsyate ||
Yathā bālaprabodhaḥ syāt tathai 've 'dam nirūpyate |
Xamadhvam sarvavidvāmsa laxaṇādinirūpaṇe. ||

"Siddho varṇasamāmnāyaḥ" || 1 || varṇānām samāmnāyaḥ pāṭhakramaḥ sakalalokaprasiddho veditavyaḥ etc.

c. Kātantravṛtti by Ćrīpati³⁾. This same author also wrote a pariṣiṣṭa or supplement to the text⁴⁾, which has been commented on more than once:

cc. Pariṣiṣṭaprabodha, by Gopinātha⁵⁾.

ccc. Pariṣiṣṭasiddhāntaratnākara, by Ćivarāmaka-kravartin⁶⁾.

d. Kātantravistara, by Vardhamāna⁷⁾.

e. Kalāpatattvārṇava, by Raghunandana⁸⁾.

f. 'Caitrukuṭī, a C., by a Vararuci⁹⁾.

g. Vyākhyāsāra, by Harirāma Cakravartin¹⁰⁾.

h. Do. by Rāmadāsa¹¹⁾.

Colebrooke¹²⁾ mentions also commentaries by:

j. Rāmanātha, [Kātantravṛttiprabodha (in "Notices" iii., p. 83) and said to be a gloss on Rāma's C.]

k. Umāpati

l. Kulacandra

1) See Weber's "Verzeichnisse" p. 220 (No. 777), Aufrecht's "Catalogus", p. 169, "Notices", ii., p. 836.

2) "Notices", i., p. 296.

3) "Notices", i., p. 195.

4) Do. p. 297.

5) Colebrooke's "Essays", ii., p. 45.

6) Do.

7) Do.

8) Do.

9) Do.

10) Do.

11) Colebrooke, u. s.

12) Do.

m. Murāri

n. Durgagupta

of which he does not give the names.

There are several treatises subsidiary to this Grammar which are also mentioned by him¹⁾:

a. Kātantragāṇadhātu, commented on by Rāmanātha in his Manoramā.

b. Kātantradhātughosha.

c. Kātantrashatkāraka, by Rahasanandin.

d. Uṇādivṛitti, by Çivadāsa.

e. Kātantracatusṭayapradīpa.

f. Kātantraçabdamālā.

g. Uṇādikosha, by Rāmaçarman²⁾.

h. Kārakakaumudī.

It is impossible for me to do more than call attention here to the very extensive but late literature to which the Kātantra has given birth directly; I can also only briefly indicate systems of grammar which appear to be connected with it rather than with Pāṇini's work. These are:

II. 1. Vopadeva's Mugdhabodha. The new school founded by Vopadeva has found much favor in Bengal. It may be safely asserted that the author largely followed the Kātantra³⁾, and some of his technical terms are abbreviations of those used in that treatise, e. g. 'li' from 'liṅga'. Colebrooke thought that Vopadeva got the plan of his grammar from the Kaumudī⁴⁾, but (as we now know) he lived far too early for it to be possible⁵⁾ for him to have done so. This grammar is known by several editions, and part at least has been translated. It has given rise to a large literature.

2. Śārasvata-vyākaraṇa⁶⁾. The date of this treatise is uncertain, but it is an improvement on Vopadeva's grammar, though it mostly uses Pāṇini's technical terms. In arrangement, however, and some of the terms, it follows the Aindra grammars. Aufrecht says of it: "Sara-

1) Colebrooke, *u. s.*

2) Aufrecht ("Uṇādisūtra", p. xxi.) puts this untrustworthy compilation at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century.

3) Westergaard "Radices", p. iv., and see above p. 87.

4) "Essays" II, 15: "It . . . proceeds upon a plan grounded on that of the Kaumudī."

5) The C. on the Prakriyākaumudī, which is by the nephew of the author, quotes the Mugdhabodha. Aufrecht, "Catalogus" p. 161 b.

6) Printed with Commentary at Bombay, ç. 1788, etc.

svatisūtrarum auctor quum grammaticam tironum in usum componere vellet, in rerum dispositione a Pāṇini differt, eamque fere viam ingressus est, quam Rāmacandra, Vopadeva, alii secuti sunt. Terminis technicis utitur quidem, rarius tamen quam aut schola Pāṇiniya aut Vopadeva. Literae auxiliares, ubi adhibentur, pleraeque a Pāṇini mutuum sumtae, accentum indicantes omissa sunt. Litera eodem atque a Vopadeva ordine dispositae sunt. . . . Casuum et verbi terminationes ut apud Vopadevam significantur. Saepissime tamen varia suffixa sine literis auxiliaribus traduntur¹⁾."

There are commentaries by

- a. Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya.
- b. Puñjarāja²⁾.
- c. Rāmacandrācrama; called Siddhāntacandrikā.

The relation of the Mugdhabodha and Sārasvatavyākaraṇa to the older grammars is singular; they both have preserved the form and many of the terms of the Aindra system, but have added to it more or less of imitations of Pāṇini's algebraic system, including a modified arrangement of the Çivasūtras which Vopadeva probably invented, and in which he has carried much further the re-arrangement of the Çivasūtras as begun by Jinendra and the later Çakatāyana³⁾; these last, on the other hand, have utterly given up the old form or system, and have scarcely preserved a trace of the old terms. In technicality they out-do Pāṇini.

There is yet another grammar which may in some respects be affiliated to the Aindra School, but which appears to have entirely escaped the notice of scholars. It is contained in a few chapters near the end of the Agnipurāṇa which is an immense collection of small treatises on all possible subjects, including law, prosody, war, etc. The only MS⁴⁾ accessible to me is so corrupt that I can hardly give even a brief notice of it. It is related by Skanda who appears to attribute it to Kātyāyana⁵⁾. The first chapter contains Pāṇini's Çivasūtras, the others treat of Sandhi, inflection, etc. but in a simple and natural order, and use many of the old (or Aindra) terms. Uncertain as my only MS. is, it would be impossible to say more, with safety, of this interesting fragment. The whole Purāṇa

1) Aufrecht, "Catalogus" p. 172 a.

2) E. I. H. 859 written in 1617 (Aufrecht, "Catalogus", p. 172 b).

3) See the discussion on these treatises in the Appendix.

4) Tanjore, 1565.

5) The first verse is: Vaxyē vyākaraṇasāraṁ siddhaçabdasaṁvarūpakam |
Kātyāyano (MS. °na) vibodhāya bālānām (yad?) adhāraya(t) ||

will, shortly, be accessible¹⁾; it is one of the most peculiar and interesting of its class, and gives much information that cannot be found except, perhaps, in some of the astrological treatises.

The most important application of the Aindra system of grammar to a foreign language, is undoubtedly to Tamil. Mention is made of a number of early works—by *Ayattiyan* (Agastya), who is said to have been the first Tamil grammarian, and his pupils²⁾—including the author of the

c. Foreign
grammars model-
led on the Sanskrit
Aindra treatises
A. Tamil.

1. *Tolkāppiyam*, who is known as *Tolkāppiyān*, but (except a few doubtful quotations) only this last exists at present³⁾. On this there are several commentaries by—

a. *Iḷambūraṇar*, called *Iḷambūraṇam*. On the first two divisions only. By

b. *Naṣṣiṇārkkiniyar*, called *Naṣṣiṇārkkiniyam*. This is a commentary on the entire treatise, but only part has, as yet, been printed. By

c. *Šenāvaraiyar*, called *Šenāvaraiyam*. This is said to be on the second book only. I may notice also

d. The *Tolkāppiyaśśūttiravirutti* (on i., 1, 1 only) by *Šivaṇāṇaḍešiṇar*.

But *Tolkāppiyān*'s treatise has long been superseded by the popular

2. *Nannūl*. Little is known about the origin of this work; the introduction proves the author to have been a Jain, and he dedicates it to somebody named *Šiyaṇṇan* who is said to have been a petty chieftain near Madura, and who, therefore, probably lived after the fall of the old Pāṇḍiya kingdom in the 14th century. Had there been a Pāṇḍiyān, the author would have certainly dedicated it to him. He also mentions his own name—*Pavaṇaṇḍi*—and says that he was the son of *Sanmaḍimuni*, and that he lived in a town called *Šanaṇai* which has not been traced. It is very unlikely that this treatise is more than five hundred years old, but it is the Tamil grammar. It is much more technical than *Tolkāppiyān*'s work, and has far more Sanskrit in it. It has exercised the ingenuity of a number of commentators down to the present time; but these authors evidently did not know the real source of Tamil grammar, and

1) An edition is already begun in the Bibl. Indica.

2) See the long list of names in Babington's translation of Beschi's "*Šen-Tamil Grammar*", introduction. The beginning of Tamil grammar must be about the 8th cent. A. D.

3) I have, above, discussed the terms used in it etc.

have often misunderstood the system and terms; their works are, for the most part, insufferably prolix, and contain but little of value. The most important are:

- a. Śamaṇamunivar; his commentary is only known by quotations.
- b. Śaiṅṅaranamaśśivāyar; he was a native of Tinnevely, but became a Ćaiva Sannyāsi at the maṭha of Tiruvāvaḍuḍurai (between Mayaveram and Combaconum) a great seat of Tamiḷ learning. Extracts have been given by Mr. Joyes in his excellent edition and translation of part of the Nannūl.
- c. Śivaṇānaḍeśiṅgar; of Conjeveram, but a member of the same society.
- d. Vaittiyanāṣar; a member of the Tarumapura maṭha. He himself wrote a Tamiḷ grammar (Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam) in which he improved on his predecessors¹⁾.

The later history of Tamiḷ grammar is not of importance here. The science has been chiefly kept up by Tamiḷ people of the so-called Ćūdra castes, and they have always (being themselves ignorant of Sanskrit) delighted in asserting the independence of the Tamiḷ grammar and literary culture in opposition to the Brahmans who asserted the contrary, often in too positive a manner. Most of the later works on the Tamiḷ grammar are difficult to find, as but few have been printed, and nearly all have only local reputations. I shall not attempt here to say more about them.

It is perhaps worth while to point out that the ultimate source of the earliest Tamiḷ grammar must be a Sanskrit, and not a Pali original. As far as the Sanskrit words go, it is impossible to prove this, for in Tamiḷ they assume much the same if not the identical form that they have in Pali. But I have shown elsewhere²⁾ that in the 7th century A. D. the predominant sect in S. India was that of the Nirgranthas or Digambara Jains, and Tolkāppiyar was most probably of this sect. He is sometimes said to have been a Buddhist, and the Jains were in fact, heretical Buddhists. Now the S. Indian Jains have a peculiar literature that is either in Sanskrit or in Vernacular languages (Tamiḷ and Canarese). They have never used Pali, and the few Prakrit books they have, are late importations from N. India. The Tamiḷ grammar shows no certain trace of Prakrit influences; thus only a Sanskrit origin for it can be allowed.

1) It has been printed. For this and the numerous editions of the Nannūl and similar works, see Murdoch's Catalogue of printed Tamiḷ books.

2) "*Indian Antiquary*" i., p. 310 note. "*Elements of S. Indian Palaeography*" p. 89 note.

The few names that are mentioned are also Sanskrit rather than Pali—Aṣṭattiyaṇ (Agastya), Āttireyaṇ (Ātreya), etc.

Paṇu-paḍam and Paṇā-paḍam (=iṅya and aniṅya) also show that the original followed by Tolkāppiyaṇ was Sanskrit; such terms do not occur in Pali Grammar¹⁾.

This doubtful origin is only possible as far as the older grammar is concerned; that the author of the Nannūl had Sanskrit treatises, and especially the Kātantra, before him, every page proves conclusively. It is unnecessary to call attention to more than his rules for converting Sanskrit words into Tamil²⁾.

It is possible to speak of the Canarese Grammar with considerable certainty, as Mr. Kittel has published a critical edition of the most important which is also,

probably, the oldest existing treatise:

1. *Ṣaddamaṇidarpaṇa*, by Keṇirāja or Keṇava. The author was probably a Jain³⁾, and lived about the end of the twelfth century⁴⁾. It is remarkable that this treatise is nearly all in metre, though aphoristic in style, and the author himself speaks of his 'sūtras'; it is in eight chapters. The first treats of phonetics. For letters he uses as names 'axara' and 'varṇa'; 'svara' for vowels; 'sandhyaxara' for diphthongs. Except a and ā, vowels are 'nāmin'. Consonants he terms 'vyaṇjana'. A theme (prakṛiti) is either nominal—'līṅga', or verbal—'dhātu'; by the addition of 'vibhakti' (both nominal and verbal) or by a 'pratyaya' it becomes a pada. The second chapter is on nouns. The seven cases of declension of a noun (nāman) are 'prathama', 'dvitiya', etc. The eighth, or vocative, is called 'āmantraṇa' or 'sambuddhi'. Chapter 3 is on compounds—'samāsa'; and chapter 4 is on derivative nouns—'taddhita'. Chapter 5 is on verbs—'ākhyāta'; tenses ('kāla') have persons—'puruṣa', and are 'vartamāna' or present, 'bhāvi' or future, 'bhūta' or past, and 'vidhi' or imperative. Chapter 6 is on roots; chapter 7 on corrupt Sanskrit words (tadbhava); and the last chapter is on particles—'avyaya'. Thus throughout, the arrangement and technical terms closely follow the

1) See above, p. 13.

2) Pt. III., sūtras xix-xxiii. There was much intercourse between the Singhalese and S. Indian Buddhists in the 12th century A. D., and especially under king Parākrama I., and at this time the Singhalese appear to have become acquainted with the Kātantra and Sanskrit sources. (D'Alwis "Descriptive Catalogue", I., pp. 179-180. "Mahavanso", ch. 77 etc.)

3) See Mr. Kittel's Introduction, p. xxi.

4) Do. p. xxvi.

Aindra system. The form of the numerous Sanskrit words indicates an original in that language.

The author himself wrote an explanation of his work:

a. Arthavṛtṭi¹⁾. Keçirāja was not the first Canarese grammarian²⁾; but nothing precise is known of his predecessors. The chief commentary on his treatise is relatively modern³⁾; it has also been edited by Mr. Kittel, it is called

δ. Vyākhyāna; and is by Nishṭhūra Sañjaya, who must have lived in comparatively recent times.

There is a treatise on Canarese Grammar written in Sanskrit sūtras:

2. Çabdānuçāsana (in four pādas), by an anonymous author. On it there is also a vṛtṭi in Sanskrit:

a. Bhāshāmañjarī, by Bhaṭṭākalaṅka. As Mr. Kittel has shown⁴⁾, this little work is anterior to Nishṭhūra Sañjaya (who quotes it), but probably later than Keçava. As far as I have seen quotations from it, it belongs also to the Aindra School, but I cannot say for certain. Mr. Kittel considers that it is based on an abridged recension of the Çabdamaṇidarpaṇa, though it differs in some details⁵⁾. The name of the commentator—Bhaṭṭākalaṅka—is clearly Jain; from the style of his work (as in the quotation given by Mr. Kittel) I should infer that he is the author of the text. Vṛtṭis by the authors of later sūtra works and explaining their own rules, are far from uncommon in Sanskrit literature.

The great and real merit of the Çabdamaṇidarpaṇa is that it bases the rules on independent research and the usage of writers of repute⁶⁾; in this way it is far ahead of the Tamil and Telugu treatises which are much occupied with vain scholastic disputations.

C. Tibetan Grammar. Even out of India the Aindra Grammar shows itself as an agent of literary culture. The Tibetans have transferred to their larger collection—the Bstan-hygyur—a considerable part of the Sanskrit grammatical literature which they have translated in their usual mechanical way⁷⁾. Among these are the following Sanskrit Aindra treatises:

1) See Mr. Kittel's Introduction. P. 5 (sūtra 6).

2) Do. p. xvi.

3) Do. p. xiv.

4) Do. do.

5) Do. p. xv.

6) Do. pp. xvi. ff.

7) This has been already exemplified by Schiefner ("Bulletin Historico-Philologique de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg" iv., p. 296 note etc.) I have pointed out another in Taranātha, viz. Kumārila (a diminutive regularly formed from Kumāra) translated as if it were Kumārātila ("Indian Antiquary" i., p. 310 n.) But such defects do not seriously affect the great value of the Tibetan translations in respect of Indian research.

3-612. **Kalāpasūtra.** (Tib.) *Kalāpa 'i mdo. f. 86*, called by C. Sgra'i bstan-bčos Kalāpa. *i.e.* Čabdaçāstra or Vyākaraṇaçāstra.

3-613. **Kalāpasttravṛtti.** (Tib.) *cha-bsags-kyi mdo 'i grel-pa shes-bya-va*, by Durgasimha. (Schiefner here remarks that the Tibetan translates Kalāpa as if from kalā + √ āp.)

3-614. **Kalāpalaghuvṛtti çishyahitanāma.** (Tib.) *Kalāpa 'i hgrel-pa nuñ-du-la slob-ma-la phan-pa shes-bya-va*, by Paṇḍita Sgrol-va 'i dvan-phyug, which Schiefner considers may be translated by Mukteçvara or Muktasvāmin.

3-723. **Kalāpadhātusttra.** (Tib.) *Kalāpa 'i byings-kyi mdo¹⁾*.

In No. 3-746 we find the *Sārasvatavyākaraṇa*, though the *Mugdha-bodha* is, apparently, not included in the collection. The dates of these several Tibetan translations cannot be settled at present with any certainty. They began in the 7th century A. D., but continued for several hundred years.

The Tibetan Grammar is said to have been begun in the 7th century by Paṇḍita Sambodha, whose treatises (also in the 'Bstan-hgyur') are called 'Sum-ču-pa' *i.e.* "the thirty (letters)", and 'Rtags-kyi hjug-pa' *i.e.* "the application of flexions". An immense number of treatises on Tibetan Grammar seem to be in existence, but only a few extracts have, as yet, been published by Schiefner in his "Tibetische Studien²⁾". The names of many are to be found in Schmidt's Catalogue of the Tibetan books and MSS. at St. Petersburg; not one even is accessible to me, but if it is permitted to hazard an opinion on mere extracts, it is pretty plain that they follow the Aindra system.

That the Tibetans got their literary culture from Sanskrit needs no proof; a glance at the indexes to the *Bkah-hgyur* and *Bstan-hgyur* will show that they only translated the Sanskrit or northern canonical works of the Buddhists, and all the philological treatises (in the last) refer to Sanskrit only.

Dr. Jaeschke has finished his great Tibetan Dictionary; may I, as an old friend and pupil ask him to give us now some specimens of the Tibetan grammatical treatises? He alone can do it.

Though, very unnecessarily, the Tibetans have (like the Tamil grammarians) forced their system of suffixes to nouns into agreement with

1) I have taken the above descriptions from Schiefner's article mentioned already. *Csoma de Kőrös* (Aa. Res. xx. pp. 581 ff.) first gave an imperfect account of these translations.

2) "*Mélanges Asiatiques*" (St. Petersburg) vols. i., pp. 824-894; iii., pp. 12-16.

the Sanskrit eight cases of declension, and have in other points closely adhered to their model system, yet their treatises appears to contain much that is the fruit of original observation, especially with regard to the numerous consonants that are now written but not pronounced, and also with regard to dialectic peculiarities¹⁾.

Except the Chinese, the Tibetans are the only people of that race who have noticed such facts; their works are then of first importance for a study of the Indo-Chinese family of languages.

It has long been known that the Pali grammatical literature is very extensive. Hardy in 1848 (in the Ceylon As. Journal) gave a list of 26 such works. Some of these were first described in Westergaard's Catalogue of the MSS. at Copenhagen, and in 1863, Mr. D'Alwis (in his "Introduction to Kaccāyana's Grammar") gave an admittedly imperfect list of 45 books; but several of these merely treat of particular topics, and are not regular grammars. I can only mention a few to which I am able to refer. The oldest and model grammar is that by

1. **Kaccāyana.** To this reference has been repeatedly made in the preceding pages. Parts of it have been edited by Mr. D'Alwis²⁾ and Dr. Kuhn³⁾; an imperfect edition was brought out by the late F. Mason⁴⁾, and an admirable one (with translation) by M. Senart⁵⁾. This last includes the

a. **Vutti**; which may be put down as the first of the many commentaries on the sūtras. It is not quite certain whether Kaccāyana wrote these explanations or not. The tradition of the Pali grammarians is given as follows:

"Kaccāyanakato yogo,
Vutti ca Saṅghanandino,
Payogo Brahmadattena,
Nyāso Vimalabuddhinā"⁶⁾.

1) See Jaeschke's "Ueber die Phonetik der Tibetischen Sprache" in "Monats. der Königl. Academie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin" (1864) pp. 176 ff.

2) "Introduction to Kaccāyana" 8°. Colombo, 1863.

3) "Kaccāyanappakaranae Specimen" 8°. 1869. "Kaccāyanappakaranae Specimen Alterum", 8°. 1871.

4) In the Burmese character, 2 parts 8°. Toungho, 1870.

5) Originally in the "Journal Asiatique", and then published separately in 1871.

6) Quoted by Mr. D'Alwis (from the Kaccāyanabhedaṭṭikā) in his "Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pali and Sinhalese Literary Works". Colombo, 1870. I., p. 52. Also, previously, in his "Introduction".

"The text was made by Kaccāyana, the interpretation is of Saṅgha-nāndi; the examples by Brahmadatta, and the āyāsa by Vimalabuddhi." Who the author Kaccāyana was, is as yet quite undetermined; Profr. Weber has discussed¹⁾ the little matter that there is to decide on, and considers that he is not the same as Sāriputta, an opinion in which Mr. D'Alwis now agrees. It is perhaps impossible to solve the question satisfactorily.

Mr. D'Alwis considers that Pāṇini's Grammar was the source of Kaccāyana's²⁾, but for the reasons I have already given in the former part of this monograph, I cannot accept this view. That some details may be borrowed from Pāṇini by a subsequent redactor of the work, is possible³⁾, but the six sūtras which are identical in both grammars appear to me to be rather from an older source than either Pāṇini or Kaccāyana; they contain nothing that is peculiar to Pāṇini, and generally agree with what has been shown to be the peculiar feature of the Aindra system. There is nothing in the sūtras to throw doubt on their antiquity, except an anubandha or so, which must have been taken from Pāṇini. Thirty-eight sūtras are, however, admittedly interpolations as the earliest commentaries allow⁴⁾ and (as the Ceylon scholiasts admit) there are several sūtras almost identical with those of the Kātantra⁵⁾. To me, at least, it appears probable that both Kaccāyana and the author of the Kātantra have mostly taken these last from a primitive source⁶⁾; but further enquiry (for which I have no space here) is needed to decide the question.

Another objection to the antiquity of Kaccāyana's Grammar has been raised by Mr. D'Alwis⁷⁾ which I must here notice. It is that Buddhaghosa (4th century) does not use (in his commentary on the three Piṭakas) Kaccāyana's technical terms, but different ones. It is obvious that no inference can be drawn from this fact, as I have already shown that many of Kaccāyana's terms occur in Pāṇini's sūtras; still more occur in Patanjali,

1) Z. d. d. M. G. xix., pp. 649-666; reprinted in "Indische Streifen" II., pp. 816-848. This has been translated into English.

2) "Introduction", p. xi. ff.

3) e. g. the use of ṇ to indicate vṛddhi. As Pāṇini's anubandhas were new (see above p. 40), this must have been copied.

4) D'Alwis "Catalogue", I., pp. 52-8.

5) Kuhn, "Specimen", pp. 17-19.

6) Except 'vā ṇapaoce': this is Pāṇiniyan so far as the ṇ is concerned.

7) "Catalogue" p. 68 ff. It is obvious (see the article by Profr. Childers and L. C. Vissimha in R. As. S. J. new series, V. pp. 289-302) that Buddhaghosa's Aṭṭhakathā was a compilation from, not a translation, of older works.

and there can, therefore, be no doubt that they belong to a system far older than the 4th century A. D. This is peculiarly the case with the only terms that Mr. D'Alwis mentions as used by Buddhaghosa, viz., the names of cases. Prathamā etc. were all known to Pānini, now for these Buddhaghosa uses paccatta, upayoga, etc.; but it is obvious, I think, that these terms are not really names of cases, and that they are solely intended to express the syntactic relation intended by the cases. Thus for the third case he has 'karaṇa', and for the fourth 'sampadāna' which are used in this way in the grammars¹⁾.

I have made these remarks here, because (owing to deficient materials) I cannot attempt, even in a summary way, to criticize the present condition of a Pali text²⁾, as I propose to do (in Appendix A.) with some of the Sanskrit Grammars.

M. Senart promises a complete edition of the Pali grammarians, and I need, therefore, only mention briefly a few of them, which will show that the Pali type of the Aindra Grammar is as important as the Sanskrit.

Besides the commentaries (Vutti and Nyāsa) mentioned above, Mr. D'Alwis mentions:

a. Dīpanī, apparently not as yet found.

b. Kaccāyanabhedaṭṭikā³⁾.

Kaccāyana's Grammar has also given rise to a number of treatises:

1. **Mahāsadda**-(i. e. ṣabda)niti; the author of this knew the Kātantra.
2. **Bāpasiddhi**. The author of this professes to have consulted Kaccāyana. He lived while Buddhism still existed on the continent of India⁴⁾.

3. **Bālāvatāra**; edited by Mr. Lee. This is according to Mr. D'Alwis an old treatise, though of uncertain date. It is very brief, and there are several commentaries on it:

a. **Pañcīkāpadīpa**, written in 1455 A. D. There was, however, an older commentary in Singhalese:

b. **Gaḍalādeni Saññā**⁵⁾. The **Bālāvatāra** was the source whence the earlier European scholars got their notions of Pali Grammar.

4. **Payogasiddhi**; of the 14th century A. D. This is an exceedingly full and valuable grammar.

1) Kacc. iiii., 6 (sampadāna) etc. See also Profr. Childers' Dy.

2) M. Senart (p. 7) promises to treat of Kaccāyana's relation to the Sanskrit originals, and the later development of the Pali grammatical literature. Kaccāyana's Grammar is almost certainly not the original Pali Grammar; at least, in its present form.

3) u. s. p. 52.

4) Do. pp. 179-180.

5) Do. p. 80.

5. **Ākhyātapada.** This is a very valuable treatise on verbs, with full explanation of the inflections. It is, thus, not unlike the Sanskrit *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* of Sāyaṇa.

6. **Dhātumanjūsā;** by *Sīlavamsa*, of unknown date. The author refers to previous *Dhātupāṭhas*. The order of the classes differs from the Sanskrit, and may perhaps be that followed by Pāṇini's predecessors¹⁾.

Kaccāyana's Grammar has also given rise to a modified system—

Moggallāna's Vyākaraṇa. The author who lived from 1153-1186 A. D. was an inhabitant of *Anurādhapura* in Ceylon. Mr. D'Alwis has described this treatise²⁾ at some length.

Drawn up on the plan of the Pali Grammar is that of the Singhalese language, for a knowledge of which we have to thank Mr. D'Alwis who has edited the most important and oldest treatise:

Sīdat-Saṅgarāva. Colombo, 1853. In a long introduction Mr. D'Alwis has given a valuable history of Singhalese literature. He puts the date of the text between 1266 and 1410 A. D.

Mgr. Bigandet appears to state³⁾ that the Burmese Grammar is based on the Pali⁴⁾: I have no information accessible beyond this statement, but it comes from a most competent authority. Probably the Siamese Grammar is based on the same source, and the few Javanese and Cambodian grammatical terms that I can find are from the Aindra system.

The above brief list of the most important treatises, in seven different languages, which are based more or less completely on the Aindra system, will show that if the fortunes of the oldest system of Sanskrit Grammar have been rather Buddhistic (or heretical) than Brahmanical (or orthodox), yet Pāṇini's great reform did not completely supersede the older system. This is partly to be explained by the circumstances of the time

1) I have transcripts of the whole or part of these three treatises, which I made many years ago from my honoured friend and teacher Dr. Fausbøll's copies.

2) *u. s. pp.* 188 ff.

3) Advertisement to Mason's edition of *Kaccāyana*—"I look upon it too, as a necessary complement of the Burmese Grammar. No one indeed can master thoroughly the Burmese language unless he possesses a fair knowledge of the Pali."

4) Mason ('Pali Grammar', in English, p. v.) says: "The book (*Kaccāyana's Grammar*) is said to have been brought to Burmah, A. D. 387, by Buddhaghosa, and the Burmese translation and commentary are ascribed to him."

when Pāṇini appeared as an author. At that time the aim of all literary culture seems to have been victory in formal scholastic disputations, and the object of teachers seems to have been to ensure victory to their pupils by almost mechanical means; hence the sūtra style which put in order the mere heads of the successive arguments in the most concise way, and by thus rendering these notes unintelligible except to the initiated, secrecy powerfully aided their object. The peculiar relations existing in ancient India between a teacher and his pupils would effectually prevent treachery, and so a system like Pāṇini's would long remain a secret in the possession of comparatively few persons. It is thus possible to explain how it happened that it was only after some eight hundred or a thousand years that the older treatises begin to borrow from the Pāṇiniya system¹⁾; had it been possible, this would have occurred long before, for the Īva-sūtras and algebraic terms of Pāṇini are too attractive to the Indian mind to be neglected, and they offer many advantages in practice.

In the history of the civilization that has spread in the course of about two thousand five hundred years from the extreme N. W. of India over the whole peninsula, and even to Indo-China and the Malay archipelago, the Aindra system of grammar fills precisely the same place that Priscian's grammar has in the history of Latin civilization. Just as the early Catholic Missionaries in the sixteenth century, who went to Mexico, S. America and Africa, and wrote so many meritorious grammars and vocabularies of the strange languages they there discovered, but in every instance and whatever might be the character of the language, found in it the tenses and cases and parts of speech of Priscian, which, as they imagined, constituted for them a science of Universal Grammar, so the Buddhists—orthodox and heretical—who were the first Indian Missionaries, found in languages of the most opposite character, *e.g.* Tibetan and Tamil, the eight cases (resp. seven and vocative) of the Sanskrit and a fourfold division of words. Both the European and Indian Mis-

1) Īkaṭāyana, Vopadeva, etc. It is remarkable that an Aindra treatise (thus Pāṇiniyised) should have appeared at first the best source to Sir W. Jones and others. ("As. Res." I., p. 354.) Forster's Grammar (1810) is based on the Mugdhabodha, and probably Carey's also; the remains of a philosophical arrangement in it attracted attention rather than Pāṇini's technicalities. The earliest grammar by a European (that of P. Paulinus à St. Bartholemeo) is based on a similar source which (in a MS. note in his presentation copy to Anquetil which is now in my possession) he states he got from two Brahmins at Āṅamala. May not Jinendra, the commentator on the Kāṇikā (to Pāṇini's sūtras) and who was a Buddhist, have been the chief means of communicating Pāṇini's system to others than Brahmins?

sionaries applied this system mechanically; the only grammar they both knew was to them a science, and became an imaginary universal grammar. In its beginning, Sanskrit Grammar was derived from an analysis of the facts of the language as was the Latin Grammar, but this false notion of a science of general grammar prevented, both in India and Europe, the analysis of strange languages; this true method has only been introduced in this century chiefly owing to a knowledge of Pāṇini's system. But (if my conclusions are just), the Aindra or older Indian Grammar has had too important a place in eastern literary history to allow of its being neglected with safety in the actual progress of research. For the Aindra (or primitive Sanskrit) Grammar founded the analysis of language; Pāṇini's systematized the results, and since then there was no real progress till German scholars took up this (to Europe) new line of research. If in any line of research, India is, here, original.





APPENDIX A.

IN considering the historical development of Sanskrit Literature (which has as yet been done but to a small extent) the only possible way is to compare the contents of books, one with another. But in doing so, no one has thought fit, as yet, to fully enquire whether the texts as we have them can be accepted in their integrity as evidence for particular periods. A general estimate has been formed in many cases of the age of a particular work, but hardly in a single case has there been any attempt made to show under what influences each work has been formed—in short, to ascertain the age of the separate parts.

First, it is necessary to remark the singular circumstances under which most of the standard texts have been delivered to the world. These are nearly all according to the recensions established by various commentators who all lived in S. India, during the middle ages, and which recensions or editions early attained a great reputation all over India partly because of the intrinsic merits of these commentaries, partly because they were the means of founding religious sects which soon spread all over India¹⁾.

Yet most of our editions—in fact, there are only two or three exceptions—are edited entirely from N. Indian Nāgarī MSS., and most of the editors repudiated with scorn any help from the palm-leaf MSS. of the South, a prejudice which is only now beginning to wear away. South India has, in fact, contributed the texts, but N. India the secondary MSS. from which the editions have been made. Here then is a primary reason for not relying too much on the letter of our orthodox standard editions.

Again, it is evident that these commentaries must be taken for what they are worth—very meritorious works in fact, yet sectarian; but a critic who now-a-days would understand any particular passage in the traditional

1) It is only necessary to remark that our chief editions of the most important Vedic books follow Ṣaṅkarācārya and Śāyana, and that Mallinātha's recension is followed for Kālidāsa's works. (See Stenzler's "Meghadūta", 1874, pp. iii.-iv.)

collections known as the Vedas and other early texts, may not rely on sectarian commentators. The works of such are chiefly of value for a history of dogma, an interesting matter in itself, but quite foreign to critical purposes. Such primitive texts as the Vedas are peculiarly liable to misunderstandings, and it will often be found that commentators only pretend to understand them "because they have grown accustomed to misunderstand them". It must be again asked if, besides unintentional perversions, texts may not have been arranged, selected or interpolated wilfully for certain purposes?

It appears to me that it is possible to establish some general principles, by which Sanskrit texts may be compared for historical purposes; it was necessary to raise the question in order to show that it is possible to use the grammatical texts in this way as Goldstücker did, and as I have attempted to do in the preceding monograph. If we know some at least, of the laws which regulate the reflection of an object, we may, to some extent, infer as to the nature of that object, though it be not directly accessible.

Before dealing with the grammatical treatises, it will be best to see what conclusion other texts point to. The earliest relics of Indian literary culture—the Vedas—are not of direct importance in this enquiry, but it is necessary to notice their present condition and the indigenous views regarding them.

The true nature of the Vedic collections is well pointed out by Profr. Roth. He says¹⁾: "Es ist eine bekannte Sache, dass die verschiedenen Sammlungen alter Lieder, Sprüche, Formeln u. s. w. welche jede durch eine besondere Benennung unterschieden unter dem gemeinsamen Namen der Veden überliefert sind, nicht die einzigen ihrer Art waren. Jede dieser Gattungen hatte ihre Arten. Wie in Religionsgemeinden, deren Bestand auf eine Verkündigung oder Lehre zurückgeht, die Feststellung des Inhalts dieser Lehre, da sie nicht bei allen und überall dieselben Wege geht, zu verschiedenen Dogmen und dadurch zu Secten führt, so haben sich in Indien ähnliche Unterscheidungen, wenn auch mehr äusserlicher und darum weniger feindlicher Art, an der heiligen Überlieferung entwickelt und befestigt.

"Die vier Veden, in welche der gesammte Stoff dieser Überlieferung seit alter Zeit zerlegt wird: Lieder, Gesänge, Opfersprüche, Wünsche und Verwünschungen (*carmina, incantamenta, devotiones*) sind ursprünglich

1) "Der Atharvaveda in Kaschmir", pp. 9-10.

nicht eben so viel Bücher, sondern Bezeichnungen von vier Gattungen des überlieferten Wortes, welche lange Zeit nur im Gedächtniss von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht fortgepflanzt wurden. Sobald aber aus einer dieser Gattungen eine bestimmte Auswahl getroffen und nach Aufeinanderfolge, Zahl und Wortlaut der einzelnen Stücke festgestellt wurde—was nach meinen Begriffen nur mit Hilfe der Schrift wirksam geschehen konnte—so entstand ein vedisches Buch. Traf ein anderer Kenner und Lehrer aus derselben Gattung des Überlieferten eine im einzelnen abweichende Wahl und setzte dieselbe in seinem Kreise in Wirksamkeit, so standen zwei Bücher nebeneinander, welche einen und denselben Veda enthielten, beide aus derselben Tradition erwachsen waren wie zwei Zweige eines Baumes. Es lässt sich annehmen, dass unter gegebenen Verhältnissen diese Unterschiede sich zu wirklichen Spaltungen erweitern konnten; in der Regel jedoch sind sie sehr harmlos, ja so gut wie bedeutungslos."

The Indian view of the Vedic texts is remarkable; they are considered to have existed from eternity and to have been uncreated¹⁾. Thus, the real 'forms' or types which exist in a higher world (like the Platonic ideas), had representatives, but not necessarily perfect, on this earth. As the Vedic texts²⁾ now exist, they are of little importance for the present matter, but the old Indian doctrine concerning them is of much importance, as it has been extended to other parts of the Sanskrit literature.

1) Singularly enough some of the Muhammadan (Sunni) teachers taught exactly the same doctrine in respect of the Qorān. On the Indian doctrine see Muir's S. Texts, iii.

2) As we have the Vedic texts at present, they are not free from errors which must have been made at the time of their last revision, or in the pre-historic times of India. So also some stanzas are irrelevant interpolations where they occur, and the proper order has not always been preserved in hymns which are otherwise intact. See Roth "Der Atharvaveda in Kaschmīr," p. 19; and "Siebenzig Lieder des R̥gveda" *passim*. See also, Benfey—"Einleitung in die Grammatik der Vedischen Sprache" p. 8 ff.; and his treatise "Die Quantitätsverschiedenheiten in den Samhitā- und Pada-Texten der Veden," i., pp. 12, 25. Special researches of the most interesting character are those by Profr. de Gubernatis (in "Annuario della Società Italiana per gli studi Orientali" I. pp. 41-49); Bollensen (in "Orient und Occident," ii., pp. 457 ff.) But the whole tradition of the Vedic texts as handed down is, beyond doubt, surprisingly accurate [see especially Profr. Max Müller's R̥gvedasamhitā (translation), i. pp. lxxvii. ff.]; and this is not only the case with the Samhitās but also in many cases with the later Brāhmaṇas. Some, however, have undergone revision (see my "Sāmavidhāna Br." i., pp. x., ff. in which M. Barth concurs—"Revue Critique" 1873, No. 44, p. 282). I have in another place ("Devatādhyāya Br." Preface, p. xi.) attempted to show that some Brāhmaṇas were put in their present order by Śāyana, and that he must be considered as the final author of the Vedic canon; on this see M. Barth's article in the "Revue Critique" No. 12 of 1874, p. 179.

Thus Patañjali says:¹⁾ “Bṛihaspatir Indrāya divyavarshasahasram prati-padoktānām ṣabdānām ṣabdapārāyaṇam provāca nā 'ntam jagāma | Bṛihas-patiḥ ca pravaktā Indrāḥ cā 'dhyetā, divyam varshasahasram adhyayana-kālaḥ | na cā 'ntam jagāma” etc. This is the ‘ideal’ science; to meet actual wants of mortals we have ‘grammar’. A little reflection will show that this view must necessarily hold good in respect of all ‘cāstras’, and hence, that with treatises which profess to come originally by revelation it is not possible to expect an exact reproduction of a primitive text, for there probably never was one; rather, the oldest treatises we have, are to be looked on as the joint work of many generations of teachers and pupils, and the result of much revision. The Indian view is given by Colebrooke²⁾: “It is a received and well grounded opinion of the learned in India that no book is altogether safe from changes and interpolations until it have been commented: but when once a gloss has been published, no fabrication could afterwards succeed; because the perpetual commentary notices every passage, and, in general, explains every word.” But there are comparatively few such commentaries, and very few of a remote date, and there is often reason to believe that these have caused in effect, the loss of different recensions³⁾, which not being protected by such a useful aid, have fallen into neglect. As I have already remarked, such commentaries⁴⁾ often originated new errors in addition to those already existing in the texts.

1) Benares lithog. ed. i., ff. 10 b.-11 a. See in the magnificent photo-zincograph edition issued by the India Office, p. 14, of vol. i.

2) “Essays” i., pp. 98-9.

3) See my “Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa” i., pp. xxxiii.-xxxiv.

4) Burnouf [“Bhāgavatapurāṇa”, ii. (folio ed.) pp. vi.-vii.] already in 1844, protested against a servile adherence to the Commentaries. He says: “J’ai continué à accorder une assez grande confiance au commentaire de Ṛiḍhara Svāmin, qui est en général ample et exact. Je l’ai suivi principalement toutes les fois qu’il a été question d’un point de fait ou de doctrine; dans les passages purement poétiques, je me suis permis plus de liberté. Ce n’est pas que je pense que nous devons abjurer le sens commun et la connaissance que nous avons acquise de la langue sanscritte, pour nous soumettre en aveugles aux explications souvent mesquines et erronées des commentateurs indigènes; mais je suis d’avis que leurs opinions mériteront toujours une attention particulière Enfin, la condescendance qu’on peut avoir pour leurs opinions n’exercera jamais sur le progrès européen des études indiennes une très-fâcheuse influence; car, de deux choses l’une: ou les explications brahmaniques sont vraies, et alors elles (vii.) se justifieront plus tard d’elles-mêmes; ou elles sont fausses, et alors la critique ne tardera pas à posséder les moyens d’en faire justice. Qui aurait le courage de reprocher au digne et à jamais regrettable Frédéric Rosen d’avoir suivi, un peu servilement peut-être, les sentiments des commentateurs indiens? et qui, d’un autre côté, pourrait être blâmé d’opposer à ces sentiments quelques-unes de ces interprétations simples et fécondes, qui sortent si naturellement des textes expliqués par les seuls secours de la philologie?” This is Profr. Max Müller’s view.

Thus, it is evident, it will not be safe to start with an assumption that the later Sanskrit texts have been preserved from interpolations, or that we can look back in hopes of arriving at a text as originally written by its author; in this they form a striking contrast to the Vedic collections.

1. The current texts of the epic poems fully support this view.

a. **Rāmāyaṇa.** It has long been known that two chief recensions at least of this epic are in existence; the texts of which agree generally in substance but very little in language and expression. The existence of the second recension¹⁾ which is generally accepted as the oldest and best, was first established by A. W. von Schlegel in his edition published in 1838; but the many persons who have used the Rāmāyaṇa as an authority for early Indian history and the history of Indian ideas, have (except Dr. Muir) entirely neglected this fact. The most remarkable Essay by Profr. Weber—'On the Rāmāyaṇa'—has excited so much attention that better hopes may be entertained for the future.

As regards the first recension (commonly called Gauda) which prevails in Bengal, there is comparatively little information as to its history and eventual origin. It has been edited in full by Gorresio, and in the most splendid style; the first edition (of part only) was by Carey and Marshman, from 1806 to 1810²⁾. But, like all the earlier editions, this last was eclectic, and does not always follow the same MS. or any consistent rule. Gorresio's estimate of this recension is as follows: "Il mio giudizio è; che la recensione Gaudana non può essere in nessun modo nata d'una rimutazione, d'un rifacimento della boreale; che essa è al tutto indipendente da quella, non rilavorata, rimpastata, ma originale, autentica, e degna di fede quanto l'altra, che ella attinse da sorgenti sue proprie, schiette, ed autorevoli, quanto quelle della boreale e rappresenta fedelmente un'altra tradizione del poema—" etc³⁾. Of the history of this recension I cannot find any certain traces, but it must be of some age, as Gorresio shows that there have been several commentaries on it⁴⁾. Profr. F. E. Hall, however, considers this recension to be a modern depravation⁵⁾.

1) Schlegel's edition i., pp. xxii. ff. A remarkable MS. of this recension is described by Profr. Aufrecht, "Catalogus" pp. 844-5. Gorresio calls it 'boreale', but it is current all over India, except Bengal, and with slight variations.

2) See p. xvi. of Vol. 1, for Schlegel's justly severe criticisms on this edition; Gorresio (i., p. xix.) concurs.

3) ed. Gorresio, i., pp. xl. ff. The matter is discussed at length.

4) Do. pp. xxii-xxiii.

5) See his edition of Wilson's Vishṇupurāṇa, ii., p. 190 note.

Of the second chief recension which Schlegel brought into notice it is possible to show that it has not been left unaltered. This important information is due to the anonymous author of the oldest commentary that we possess as regards this recension, and which is referred to everywhere as an authority—the Katakāṭikā. The name given to this work is ominous, the Kataka being the berry of the poisonous strychnine tree which is used in India (so people say) to clear muddy water¹⁾; but the author has stated, in more than one place, the principles on which he worked. These were first pointed out by Dr. Muir²⁾; they are as follows:

1. That a passage is to be rejected which is not in the old copies. And apparently:

2. That a passage is to be rejected, if inconsistent with the rest of the text. The subsequent commentators quote these principles and the precedent of the author of the Katakāṭikā in justification of their treatment of the text. It is, therefore, obvious that it is impossible to trust very far the text of the commentators, for they clearly state that they have revised the text on principles which are not admitted to be trustworthy by modern critics. Besides these two chief recensions, the MSS. vary greatly in minor details as Profr. Weber has proved.

There is no way of determining the date of the author of the Katakāṭikā, but there is nothing to indicate that this commentary is older than the revival of Sanskrit studies in the Deccan which dates from the 12th century. As the author invokes Kālahastīṣa, he must have been a native of the Telugu country.

It is unfortunate that we have none of the older commentaries; for these would throw much light on the actual results of the work of their authors, but it is not difficult to see that as all commentators started with a knowledge of grammar and rhetoric as their means, they would gradually eliminate what they deemed ungrammatical or inconsistent with the rules of the Alankāraśāstra. There is yet another cause which

1) See Wilson's Dy. s. v. The author says:

Asamgatavyākṛitipāmsupāṅkilam
Rāmāyaṇatīrthasamuddhṛitāṃṛitam |
Yogīndravāṇīkatakād vipāṅkilam
Sarvopakāraṣamam astu sarvadā ||

I quote from the Tanjore MS. The name should rather be "Rāmāyaṇāṃṛitakataka", but the abridged form is also used.

2) "Sanskrit Texts" iv., pp. 180-1.

Profr. Weber first pointed out¹⁾—the influence of a prevailing *rīti* or 'style'. Daṇḍin, the author of the *Kāvyaḍarṇa*, and who probably belongs to the 6th century A. D., recognized two such, the *Gauḍī* (or Northern) and *Vaidarbhī* (or Southern) *rīti*. Later writers such as *Mammaṭa*, *Vāmana* and others add four—*Pāncālī*, *Lāṭī*, *Āvantikā* and *Māgadhī*—all of which came between the two original styles. The descriptions of these various kinds of *rīti* are often rhetorical and fanciful, but any observant reader of the two recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and (*e.g.*) a Jain treatise in Sanskrit, will at once notice a marked difference in the style of composition and in the vocabulary of all three. Daṇḍin lays most stress on the rhetorical peculiarities, less on the linguistic; he says²⁾:

“*Asty aneko girām mārگاḥ sūxmabhedāḥ parasparam |*
Tatra Vaidarbha-Gauḍīyau varṇyete prasphuṭāntarau ||
Ḫleshaḥ prasādaḥ samatā mādhyam sukumārātā |
Arthavyaktir udāratvam ojaḥ kāntisamādhayaḥ ||
Iti Vaidarbhamārgasya prāṇa daḻagaṇāḥ smṛitāḥ |
Eshām viparyayaḥ prāyo dṛiḻyate” *Gauḍavartmani ||*

Having thus distinguished the two styles, he proceeds to illustrate the peculiarities, but the first only is appreciable:

Ḫlisṭam asṛisṭaḻaithilyam alpaprāṇāḻarottaram |
 Ḫithilam⁴⁾; “*mālatimālā lolālikalilā*” *yathā ||*

It is remarkable that the phonetic character here assigned to the Southern style would reduce the alphabet to very nearly the Dravidian phonetic system, and the alleged contrary preference of the aspirates and sibilants (which is a feature so noticeable in the N. Indian vernaculars) indicate that Daṇḍin's remark has a solid foundation⁵⁾, though I have not been able to prove it in spite of a careful analysis of the letters in several different passages. I have, however, noticed that the S. recension has, *e.g.*, *krūra* instead of the Northern *ghora*. The other alleged peculiarities of the Southern style are not capable of analysis in this way, but they show accurate observation. That the influence of local style must have been powerful is a necessary consequence of the circumstances under which the later Sanskrit

1) “Über das *Rāmāyaṇa*”, p. 76.

2) i., 40-48 of the Bibl. Indica edition (pp. 37-9).

3) Tanjore MS. 10,511b. reads *laxyate*.

4) Do. “*ḻithilā mālatī*” etc.

5) This would tell much against the S. Indian MSS. were they not supported by early commentaries, and were it not an ascertained fact that the copyists of the Peninsula have always been more painfully scrupulous than those of the North.

books were composed. The language was then dead, and cultivated for literary purposes by people of very different races and varied habits. It is difficult to imagine two languages the construction and phonetics of which differ more completely than is the case with Hindi and Tamil, and it is easy to see in the perfectly correct and grammatical Sanskrit compositions of writers of these two races that there is a perceptible difference of style, and, the Sanskrit vocabulary being amazingly copious, difference of race has led to the preference of peculiar words in different parts of India, as more harmonious¹⁾. The authors of N. India have (except in verse) preserved a good deal of the primitive terseness of the oldest Sanskrit prose; the writers of the South (*e.g.* *Çaṅkarācārya* and *Sāyaṇa*) are, on the other hand, remarkable for excessively involved and long sentences chiefly constructed by the aid of 'iti' which is there used just like the Tamil 'enru'. The effect of these influences is very remarkably evident in the dialects now spoken by tribes which have emigrated from N. to S. India. The Dakhnī differs from Ūrdu not only by a softer pronunciation but also in construction and vocabulary, and this is still more the case with the dialect of Mahrāṭhī spoken by the silk-weavers of Tanjore who (they say) originally came from Devagiri in the Deccan.

Lastly, come the alterations and interpolations which result from extensive religious movements. Of the earliest period of this nature we know but little; the resulting influences appear to have been eclectic and anti-buddhistic. The most important period, and, in fact, the only one deserving serious notice is that of the reforms originated by *Çaṅkarācārya* whose Vedānta doctrines are so well known.

The question of such modifications as these, and the results produced by them was first treated by Burnouf in the prefaces²⁾ to the several volumes of his edition and translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; he there remarked the strong Vaishṇava tendency not only of the *Mahābhārata* but also of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, and especially the assimilation of Vishṇu with Nārāyaṇa³⁾. The *Rāmāyaṇa* also displays a strong Vaishṇava tendency⁴⁾. It is evident that this is the natural consequence of the

1) Lassen noticed long ago that the Gauḍa and Southern recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* differed in unessential forms of expression. (Gorresio, I., p. xxxviii.) Schlegel had previously noticed the irregularities of form which are frequent in the Gauḍa recension.

2) He, however, considers that the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* have escaped to a great extent (vol. iii., p. xxix.).

3) Do. p. xliv. The whole preface to vol. iii. refers to this subject.

4) Weber, "Über das *Rāmāyaṇa*", pp. 6-7. 59.

vedāntism of Ṣaṅkarācārya which identifies Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa with the Supreme Being¹⁾; this system is by far the most popular in the Peninsula, and has had the most influence in literature. The subsequent Vaiṣṇava reforms (of Rāmānujācārya and Madhvācārya) came comparatively late, and certainly did not lead to any alterations of texts. The literature to which they gave rise consists chiefly of commentaries on original works the text of which was already settled.

Profr. Weber's researches have brought down the earliest limit of the actual redactions of the Rāmāyaṇa to about the 3rd or 4th century A. D. and considering all the circumstances that he has discussed, it is difficult to refuse to accept this conclusion. The real point of his treatise seems to me, as yet, unanswered; for, though, no doubt, the Rāmāyaṇa has old matter as a foundation, and has incorporated many of the old verses which form the débris of the older Sanskrit literature and which are often met with elsewhere²⁾, the latest period of redaction can only be considered so long as the text has not been critically separated into its elements.

The causes of interpolation and alteration which I have mentioned above, together with the results of the clerical errors of copyists during several hundreds of years, are quite sufficient to account for the rise of different recensions such as we now find, though originally the Rāmāyaṇa was the work of a real author. It is probable that before it was reduced into the form of a regular book, parts were current in the form of ballads³⁾.

b. **Mahābhārata.** Comparatively little attention has been paid to this epic, and (except by a few scholars) the uncritical Calcutta edition is generally quoted. It has been supposed⁴⁾ that there is only one recension of the Mahābhārata; but this, I shall show, is a mistake,

1) Hall, "Rational Refutation", p. 199 note, and 212 note.

2) Burnouf's remarks (Bhāgavata P. I., p. cx.) are worth quoting still. He says: "On commenta les Vedas; on en développa les opinions spéculatives; on rassembla les légendes relatives aux sages dont ces anciens livres faisaient connaître les noms. En un mot, on reproduisit dans un idiome plus facile et plus épuré, les opinions et les croyances dont ces livres, incontestablement antiques, avaient gardé le dépôt. Voilà pourquoi les productions des derniers âges de la littérature sanscrite ont encore un caractère si manifestement ancien. Ces productions sont, pour le fond du moins, de beaucoup antérieures à la date qu'elles portent. Leur forme seule est moderne J'en excepte les modifications qu'apportèrent au fonds des croyances védiques les inventions des sectes qui se les partagèrent, pour les développer chacune à sa manière."

3) Cfr. Weber, "Literaturgeschichte", pp. 182-3.

4) Monier Williams, "Indian Wisdom", p. 888. "It should be noticed that the purity of its (i. e. the Rāmāyaṇa's) text has been exposed to risks which the longer epic has escaped."

though it will be impossible to give more than general results here, owing to the enormous extent of all texts of the Mahābhārata, and also because I have not a complete copy of the new (or Southern) recension to refer to. The other most marked recension is that which prevails in N. India, and which appears to have been finally settled about the 16th century A. D. by Nilakaṇṭha's commentary. All the MSS. of the Harivaṃśa to which I have been able to refer, are so nearly alike, that it is pretty certain that this is a comparatively modern work, as has indeed been generally supposed. The Calcutta edition of it represents the current text very fairly.

To give briefly the chief results of such superficial comparison of the two recensions of the Mahābhārata as I have been able hitherto to make, I shall separate the text into three parts according to the evidence in their favour—1) the chief episodes, 2) the shorter, final books, and³⁾ the longer books which are mostly at the beginning.

1. The Episodes agree narrowly in all the MSS. As regards the Bhagavadgītā, the very complete commentary of Ṣaṅkarācārya, the text of which is supported even to the minutest details by subsequent glosses, amply proves that this famous poem is in exactly the same condition now¹⁾ as it was in the 7th century A. D. There were commentaries before Ṣaṅkara's, but they are not now in existence²⁾. Another well known episode—the Nalopākhyāna—presents a few various readings in the grantha MSS., but not one of these is of any importance. The 'Samudramanthana' in the S. recension contains some verses which are not in the Nāgarī MSS.

2. The shorter final books. All the MSS. agree fairly well in these books (xvi., xvii., xviii.), though various readings are numerous. The differences in entire Ṣlokas do not amount to more than five per cent, and these are generally omitted in the N. recension.

3. The longer books. These differ to as great an extent as the two chief recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa, they also often differ in the number of their chapters as follows:

1) Mr. C. P. Brown had a most careful collation made of Ṣaṅkarācārya's commentary with Lassen's text; if I recollect rightly, the result was a *single v. l.* of no importance! I am not able, at present, to refer to Mr. Brown's edition (in the Telugu character) which was published at Madras in 1852. This agrees with the results of my own collations.

2) See the passage quoted by Aufrecht—"Catalogus", p. 8. Ṣaṅkarācārya gives 700 as the number of verses, which is actually the case. Bruce and Grasberger's 'Nala' are eclectic compilations.

	Nāgarī recension	Grantha recension
I. Ādiparvan	250	248
II. Sabhā—	111	120
III. Vana—	306	302
IV. Virāṭa—	77	77
V. Udyoga—	200	200
VI. Bhīṣma—	118	118
VII. Droṇa—	198	198
VIII. Karṇa—	119	111
IX. Çalya—	65	67
X. Sautika—	26	28
XI. Strī—	18	19
XII. Çānti—	364	363
XIII. Anuçāsana—	252	?
XIV. Açvamedha—	105	119
XV. Āçrama—	46	45

The conventional division of the Mahābhārata into 18 books is very unsatisfactory for critical purposes, as it prevents an easy separation of the several parts, and the S. Indian division into 24 is preferable. By this the Ādip. is divided into three (Ādip. = 8 ch.; Āstikap. = 40 ch.; Sambhavap. = 200 ch.), the Çalyap. into two (Çalyap. = 56 ch.; Gadāp. = 11 ch.), the Sautikap. into three (Sautikap. = 9 ch.; Aihikap. = 11 ch.; Viçokap. = 8 ch.), and the Çāntip. into two (Rājadharmā = 172 ch.; Moxadharmā = 191 ch.). Other divisions can be traced.

The following will show the differences between the two recensions such as ordinarily occur. I have chosen a fairly average instance where the texts fairly agree; to show how interpolations occur in the Nāgarī text would need more space than I can give here.

Nāgarī. Ādip. ch. xi. 1-7, with which the ch. ends:

Ruruḥ | Katham himsitavānt sarpān ca rājā Janamejayaḥ? |
 Sarpā vā himsitās tena kimartham? dvijasattama! || 1 ||
 Kimartham moxitāç cai 'va pannagās tena dhīmataḥ |
 Āstikena tad ācaxva çrotum icchāmi tatvataḥ. || 2 ||
 Rishir uvāca | Çroshyasi tvam Ruro sarvam āstikacaritam mahat |
 Brāhmaṇānām kathayatām ity uktvā 'ntaradhīyata || 3 ||

Sautir uvāca | Ity uktvā 'ntarhite tasmin yogād ṛishivare prabho |
 Sambhramāvishtāhṛidayo Rurur mene tad adbhutam || 4 ||
 Ruruḥ cā 'pi vanam sarvam paryadhāvat samantataḥ |
 Tam ṛishim nashtam anvicchan sa ḥrānto nyapatad bhuvi || 5 ||
 Sa moham paramam gatvā nashtasamjñā ivā 'bhavat |
 Tad ṛisher vacanam tathyam cintayānaḥ punaḥ punaḥ || 6 ||
 Labdhasamjño Ruruḥ cā 'sthāt tac cā 'cakhyau pitus tadā |
 Pitā cā 'sya tad ākhyānam pṛishtaḥ sarvam nyavedayat || 7 ||

Southern. Ādip. ch. viii., end:

Ruruḥ | Katham himsitavānt sarpān xattriyo Janamejayaḥ? |
 Sarpā vā himsitās tena kimartham? ṛishisattama! || 1 ||
 Kimartham moxitās tena pannagāḥ cai 'vā ḥamsa me |
 Āstikena tad ācaxva ḥrotum icchāmy aḥeshataḥ || 2 ||
 Ṛishiḥ | Ḥroshyase tvam Ruro vatsa! āstikam caritam mahat (sic) |
 Brāhmaṇānām kathayatām ity uktvā 'ntaradhiyata || 3 ||
 Sūtaḥ | Rurus tv atha vanam sarvam paryadhāvat samantataḥ |
 Tam ṛishim nashtam anvicchan sambhrānto nyapatad bhuvi || 4 ||
 Labdhasamjño Rurur uttasthau tac cā 'cakhyau pitus tadā |
 Pitre tu sarvam ākhyāya ḍuṇḍubhasya vaco 'rthavat || 5 ||
 Apricchat pitaram bhūyaḥ so 'sti kasya vacas tathā |
 Yat tad ākhyānam akhilam ḍuṇḍubhenā 'tha kīrtitam || 6 ||
 Tat kīrtiyamānam bhagavan ḥrotum icchāmi tatvataḥ |
 Pitā cā 'sya tad ākhyānam pṛishtaḥ sarvam nyavedayat || 7 ||

Nāgarī. Ādip. ch. xii., 1:

Ḥaunaka uvāca | Kimartham rājaḥcārdūlaḥ sa rājā Janamejayaḥ |
 Sarpasattreṇa sarpāṇām gato 'ntam tad vadasva me! |
 Nikhilena tathā tatvam Saute! sarvam aḥeshataḥ! || 1 ||
 Āstikaḥ ca dvijaḥcreshtaḥ kimartham japatām varaḥ |
 Moxayām āsa bhujayān pradīptād vasuretasāḥ || 2 ||
 Kasya putraḥ sa rājā 'sīt sarpasattram ya āharat |
 So ca dvijātipravaraḥ kasya putro? 'bhidhatsva me! || 3 ||
 Sūtaḥ | Mahad āstikam ākhyānam yad etat procyate budhaiḥ |
 Sarvam etad aḥeshena ḥṛiṇu me vadatām vara! || 4 ||

Çaunakaḥ | Çrotum icchāmy açeṣheṇa kathām etām manoramām |
 Āstikasya purāṇarsher brāhmaṇasya yaçasvināḥ || 5 ||
 Sūta uvāca | Itihāsam imam viprāḥ purāṇam paricaxate |
 Kṛishṇadvaipāyanaproktam Naimishāranyaavāsishu || 6 ||

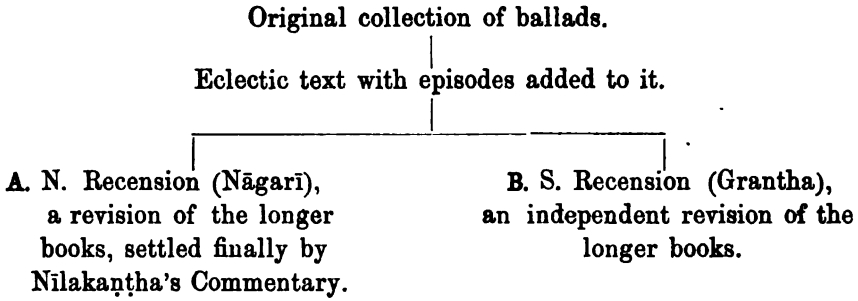
Southern recension. Ādip. ch. ix., 1:

(Benediction).

Çaunakaḥ | Kimartham rājaçārdūlaḥ sa rājā Janamejayaḥ |
 Sarpasattreṇa sarpāṇām gato 'ntam tad vadasva me! || 1 ||
 Āstikas tu dvijaçreshtaḥ kimartham japatām varaḥ |
 Moxayām āsa bhujaṅgān diptāt tasmād dhutāçanāt || 2 ||
 Kasya putraḥ sa rājā 'sīt sarpasattram yathā 'harat |
 Sa ca dvijātipravaraḥ kasya putro? vadasva tat! || 3 ||
 Çrotum icchāmy açeṣheṇa kathām etām manoharām |
 Āstikasya purāṇasya brāhmaṇasya tapasvināḥ || 4 ||
 Sūtaḥ | Mahad ākhyānam āstikam yathai 'tad procyate budhaiḥ |
 Sarvam etad açeṣheṇa çriṇu me vadatām vara! || 5 ||
 Itihāsam imam vṛiddhāḥ purāṇam paricaxate |
 Kṛishṇadvaipāyanaproktam Naimishāranyaavāsinaḥ || 6 ||

In general, the result of a collation of the two recensions of the Ādi-parvan is, that the Nāgari recension has about ten per cent more çlokas than the S. recension; these çlokas generally form passages wanting in the last. Of the rest of the text, a considerable portion (numerous vv. ll. apart) is the same in both; the rest of the text presents çlokas found in the Dev. recension, but with many vv. ll. and in a totally different order. The short chapters agree generally in both recensions.

It is obvious that I can do no more here than give the principal results of a long (though, as yet, incomplete) examination of the Tanjore MSS. I hope to give more details in my Catalogue of those MSS. The causes of this present condition of the text of the Mahābhārata appear to be the same that I have already mentioned in respect of the Rāmāyaṇa, and like it, the different recensions of the Mahābhārata appear to have sprung from a text based on a number of ballads, and then subjected to an eclectic revision, thus:



(For Lassen's views, see I. A-K. ii., 499 ff.)

How long shall we have to wait before we have critical editions of even parts of both these recensions? Even the late Profr. Goldstücker did no more than think of such a task as possible with respect to the Nāgarī recension; had he known of the existence of the S. recension, I doubt if even he would have ventured to think of such a stupendous labour¹⁾.

It is impossible for me here to enter on the question of the condition of the texts of the Purāṇas, because with the exception of two (Bhāgavata and Vaishṇava) they have been hardly studied at all. Both these Purāṇas are preserved in a single recension only, but it must be remarked that the Bhāgavata has been long suspected²⁾ to be the work of Vopadeva (12th century), and it is thus impossible to expect a variety of recensions especially as the text has been well supported by commentaries. Both strongly support the Vedānta doctrine³⁾.

But the existence of several recensions of a text is not confined to the epic poetry of India; we find it to be the case with purely literary compositions by historic personages, *e.g.* Kālidāsa; the existence of two recensions of one play, the Ākuntala, has long been known, and they have been discussed by Dr. Pischel in an elaborate essay⁴⁾. He inclines to consider the Bengālī recension to be the best. The existence of different recensions of other dramatic poems is also established. The causes of this are obscure; errors of copyists and the usual causes of various readings are

1) There are about 336 MSS. of the whole or parts of the M. Bh. in the Tanjore Library.

2) See Burnouf's edition (in folio) Vol. I., pp. lli. ff., where the Indian tracts on its origin are translated in full. Burnouf's conclusions appear to render this attribution to Vopadeva most probable, and this view had already been approved by Colebrooke.

3) As regards the text of the Purāṇas, Śaṅkara's 'Āṅkaravilāsa' will give much information, for he there quotes whole chapters from a number of Purāṇas of which he gives the names; he also gives the numbers of the chapters.

4) "De Kālidāsa Ākuntali recensionibus", particula prima, 1870.

insufficient to account for such differences as we find in the *Çākuntalā*, even though (as in this case) they have been at work for an unusually long period. In all probability these causes are to be sought in the difference of the æsthetic (or rather rhetorical) ideals of the different parts of India, and which have already been mentioned above. Dr. Pischel¹⁾ has severely criticized Profr. Monier Williams' statement that "the bold and nervous phraseology of *Kālidāsa* has been either emasculated or weakened" which is certainly not what one would expect from the *Gauḍa* style as defined by Indian rhetoricians²⁾; but the long passages in the third act of the *Bengālī* recension where (says Profr. Monier Williams)—"the love-scene between the king and *Çākuntalā* has been expanded to five times the length it occupies in the *Devanāgarī* recension, and the additions are just what an indelicate imagination might be expected to supply³⁾"—are certainly interpolations. Dr. Pischel has shown the origin of several of the readings of the *Devanāgarī* recension, and proved that they are inferior to those of the *Bengālī* or *Gauḍa* recension; yet, it is evident that the last-mentioned recension does not present an immaculate text. But there is a third recension, that of the *Grantha MSS.*, which seems preferable to either the *Devanāgarī* or *Gauḍa* recensions; if those be taken to represent the result of the action of the *Vaidarbha* and *Gauḍa* æsthetical notions upon the original text, it is certain that the *Grantha MSS.* have preserved many readings preferable to either, and which do not in any way show traces of the *Vaidarbha* style, though the *Grantha* text is nearest to the *Devanāgarī*.

The condition of other Sanskrit books such as the *Pañcatantra* is yet more remarkable, as identity of form is seldom preserved in the several recensions we have of these texts, and additions to the matter are frequent. At least four texts of the *Pañcatantra* are known, and Profr. Benfey has discussed these with the greatest care and minuteness⁴⁾. The fourth (which I found in S. India) he considers, is the nearest to the original form⁵⁾. But the *Pañcatantra* is not the only popular collection of stories which appears in various forms; the *Vetālapañcaviṃṣatī*, *Çukasaptatī* and others are in the same condition.

An interesting example of the way in which these texts were modified is shown by the *Bṛihat Kathāmañjarī* of Xemendra, from which Somadeva

1) *u. s.* p. 29.

2) See above, p. 78.

3) "*Çākuntalā*", 1858. p. viii.

4) Benfey, "*Pañcatantra*, übersetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen", 2 vol. 8°—1859.

5) The same in the *Academy*, iii., p. 139 (1st April, 1872) and also in the *Allg. Zeitung*.

adapted his Kathāsaritsāgara. Besides improving the bald style of the original, and putting the stories in a better form, Somadeva has done little but change the order of the sections as originally arranged¹⁾; the matter and frame-work of the collection remain the same. In this case both authors appear to have been natives of N. India; Somadeva lived in Cashmere.

Collections of stanzas (as might be expected) differ in an endless number of ways, but yet the number of verses not common to the various texts is comparatively small. Examples of this are furnished by Hāla's Saptāṭaka which has been so carefully examined by Profr. Weber²⁾, and also by the collection attributed to a Bhartṛihari³⁾.

Even the Buddhist texts exhibit different recensions, as Profr. Féer has shown to be the case with the Daharasūtra⁴⁾.

Thus, alike, books invested with a sacred character as well as ordinary literary works, have not escaped alteration, revision, and modification in many ways.

To multiply examples (as I could easily do) would be useless. The result, so far, of this brief summary of the enquiries into the actual condition of the texts of some of the more important of the different classes of Sanskrit works may be fairly stated thus: they exist in different recensions which have been altered under various influences—religious and eclectic, critical and the like⁵⁾. The necessary conclusion is that it is indispensable to examine closely the texts of the grammatical treatises to see if they have been also modified in any way, or if they form an exception; for before this is determined they cannot be safely used for historical purposes.

It is obvious that grammatical treatises are little likely to be influenced by some of the causes already mentioned; but owing to their in-

1) The first 5 books follow the same order in both texts; the others correspond as follows: vi. (Bṛhatk.)=8 (Kathāsarits.); vii.=6; viii.=11; ix.=12; x.=18; xi.=18; xii.=17; xiii.=14; xiv.=7; xv.=9; xvi.=10. The short passage I have given above (pp. 2. 3. notes) will show the difference of style. See also Dr. Bühler's paper in the *Indian Antiquary*, i. pp. 302 ff.

2) "Über das Saptāṭakam des Hāla" 1870. "Über d. Saptāṭ. Hāla" (additions) in Z. d. M. G. xxvi. pp. 735-745. "Zum Saptāṭ. des Hāla" in the same, xxviii. pp. 845-886.

3) See the 'Bombay Sanskrit Series' edition, pp. 3 ff.

4) *Journal Asiatique* viie. série, iv., pp. 297-368.

5) I think that it is obvious that the religious influences to be traced in the Sanskrit texts noticed above—viz., 1) the eclectic anti-buddhist, and 2) the earlier Vedānta movements—are of little consequence compared with the rhetorical revisions to which nearly all Indian texts (except the Vedas) have been gradually subjected.

tricate arrangement, it is evident that they are very likely to have been amended and completed almost unconsciously; I shall, therefore, briefly consider what evidence there is as to the state of the texts of these grammatical treatises, and the alterations that may have been made in them.

1. As regards the *Çixās*, it is only necessary to remark that the *Pāṇiniyaçixā* exists in two widely different recensions, and that it is probable that the *Nāradaçixā* is in the same state, and perhaps also the *Çixā* attributed to *Bhāradvāja*. The others are known only by name as yet. The brevity of these little treatises leaves small room for criticism, for comparison is hardly possible where there is so little to analyse.

2. The case of the *Prātiçākhyas* is very different, and the state of these texts has been already ascertained with considerable exactness.

a. R̥gvedapṛātiçākhyā. Of all the grammatical treatises in Sanskrit that we possess, this remarkable work bears every sign of being a primitive treatise. Written in verse, especially in *çlokas*—a metre well suited to assist the memory, and certainly used in very early times in India—the construction of the rules is simple, and shows no trace of the ingenuity so remarkable in *Pāṇini's sūtras*. But with all this, the language is essentially the modern literary Sanskrit, and *M. Regnier* has assigned very good grounds for believing that parts are accretions as *Profr. Whitney* appropriately terms them.

Thus as regards the second chapter he says: “Ce qui dans ce chapitre et dans tout le reste de l'ouvrage, laisse le plus à désirer, c'est l'ordre et la méthode, surtout pour les énumérations d'irrégularités. Elles sont, en beaucoup d'endroits, entassées comme au hasard, au lieu d'être rangées soit d'après leur ressemblance ou leur identité, soit dans l'ordre ou les règles ont été données. En outre, quelques-uns des derniers *çlokas* ne se rapportent pas directement au sujet traité dans le chapitre. C'est une trace de compilation, comme nous en rencontrerons, et en bien plus grand nombre, dans d'autres parties de l'ouvrage.”

Again he says of *a. xiii.* (iii., 1): “Le chapitre xiii. est désigné particulièrement par ce nom (*Çixāpaṭala*) à la fin de la formule qui le clôt . . . C'est, entre tous peut-être, celui qui a le plus visiblement le caractère d'une compilation. Les fragments dont il se compose y semblent jetés, vers le milieu surtout, pêle-mêle et sans ordre. On n'a pris aucun soin pour déguiser la diversité d'origine des *sūtras* et les concilier entre eux; mais, malgré, ce désordre, on pourrait même dire, à certains égards, à cause de ce désordre même, ce chapitre est fort curieux; il expose . . .

des opinions diverses, et emprunte des axiomes à plusieurs écoles. Il nous permet de juger, par un exemple caractéristique, de la terminologie des maîtres antérieurs à Çaunaka, et des progrès qu'avaient faits jusqu'à ce dernier, et peut-être grâce à lui, la précision et la netteté."

Again of the three last chapters he says: "Le chapitre xvii a beaucoup moins d'unité et offre, ainsi que le suivant, de nombreuses traces de compilation... Par leur sujet, comme par leur style et leur forme, ces trois paṭalas se détachent du reste de l'ouvrage, et ressemblent à un traité spécial et complet en lui-même, qu'on¹⁾ aurait rattaché après coup."

These admirable criticisms will show that the *Ṛigvedaprāṭiçākhyā* is a work gradually built up¹⁾ in its present form; in it, we find that it is said to be a redaction by Çaunaka of a treatise by Çākalya; but though this would (in accordance with the contents) point out that the material is primitive, there is nothing (except the technical style), that would justify the attribution of this *Prāṭiçākhyā*, as it stands, to a period before Pāṇini. So far as the more important part of the materials goes, this may well be the case, but the language and interpolations render much uncertain. With these reservations it entirely deserves the title given it by Profr. Max Müller "the oldest text book of Vedic phonetics."

That the *Ṛigvedaprāṭiçākhyā* really does represent a treatise older than Pāṇini has been proved in a remarkable way. Pāṇini quotes Çākalya four times, and Profr. Max Müller shows that these rules are really the same as rules in the *Ṛigvedaprāṭiçākhyā*. He has also pointed out in it other primitive matter common both to Yāska and Pāṇini. In such a case, and considering Pāṇini's style, it is obviously impossible to expect more than identity of matter. Profr. Goldstücker took a different view, and held that this *Prāṭiçākhyā* is posterior to Pāṇini. His chief reason is that the *Prāṭiçākhyas* are "more complete, and deal much more satisfactorily with their subject-matter than Pāṇini"²⁾, and that they must, therefore, be subsequent to the latter whose work they "complete and amend". He, however, admitted that there is but little than can be compared³⁾ in the two, and this little consists of the matter referring to the changes of n into ṇ and s into śh (*Ṛigvedapr.* ch. v.) and the prolongation of the vowels a, i, u, (chapters vii., viii., and ix.), and a few ana-

1) As even Profr. Goldstücker admitted (*Academy*, July 9th 1870. p. 272.) There are also a few probable interpolations, e. g., where Çaunaka's opinion is discussed.

2) Do. p. 271; "Pāṇini's Place," p. 199.

3) "Pāṇini's Place," pp. 198-9.

logous rules in Pāṇini's Grammar. No doubt, here the *Prātiçākhyā* is more complete, but it simply gives all the cases in a particular text of the *Ṛigveda*, most of which could hardly enter into Pāṇini's scheme of a general grammar of current Sanskrit; for he appears to have simply included so much of the Vedic Grammar as was required for general purposes, and never to have intended a complete grammar of the Vedic dialects, or how is it that we meet with the *sūtra* 'bahulam chandasi' more than once¹⁾ and in connection with different topics? Pāṇini must have known by heart the Vedic texts then current, and could have had little difficulty, if he had wished to do so, in writing as complete a Vedic Grammar as the one he has given of Sanskrit. The real cause of Profr. Goldstücker's difficulty is that he assumed that Pāṇini's Grammar is the *Vedāṅga vyākaraṇa*, whereas in fact the science of grammar in the abstract was intended by this term.

It appears to me that, for these reasons, Profr. Goldstücker's arguments that the *Prātiçākhyās* are more recent than Pāṇini, and are intended to supplement his Grammar, do not apply to the *Ṛigvedaprātiçākhyā*; of it, we probably have a revision subsequent to Pāṇini, but, there can be little doubt, the greater part of the text and the matter contained in this work are far older²⁾. His arguments have much greater force in respect of the three other treatises which belong to the same class³⁾.

6. *Taittirīyaprātiçākhyā*. Profr. Whitney has already⁴⁾ pointed out a number of accretions and interpolations in this treatise, such accretions are chapters xvii., xviii., xxii., xxiii., and xxiv. On the other hand the unusually numerous references to discordant opinions of the authorities are considered by Profr. Whitney to be interpolations made in the text after it "ceased to be a mere body of practical rules for the guidance of a school, and in virtue of its thoroughness and comprehensiveness gained more the character of a phonetic 'treatise' on the Black Yajur Veda, and was used in other schools than that which originated it". Profr. Whitney considers that the *sūtras* i., 25-7, 60; vii., 13-14;

1) It occurs eleven times! Cfr. Benfey's "Einleitung" p. 3.

2) Lassen ("Indische Alterthumskunde" 2nd ed. ii., p. 478) unhesitatingly attributes the *Ṛigvedapr.* to Çaunaka whose date he puts at 460 B. C.

3) Westergaard (Über den ältesten Zeitraum der Indischen Geschichte p. 67) considers that the *Ṛigvedapr.* is later than Pāṇini; he grounds this opinion on the character of the versification. Pischel ("De Grammaticis Prācriticis" Theses) upholds this view.

4) See p. 482 of Profr. Whitney's edition of the *Taitt.* pr.

xiv., 12-13; xv., 6-9; xvi., 24 are interpolations, as they express rules not indispensable to the work, and evidently in wrong places where they interrupt the natural connection. He also considers that the parts referring to prosody are interpolations; this may be so here, but I have already given reasons for believing that prosody was an essential part of the old Sanskrit Grammar.

The Taittirīyaprātiçākhyā is composed in a highly developed sūtra style; this is evidence of a revision in comparatively recent times.

c. *Kātyāyanaprātiçākhyā*. In addition to the reasons already given for believing that the *Rigveda* and *Taittirīya* prātiçākhyas are not preserved in their original form, and which apply equally to the *Kātyāyana-prātiçākhyā*, there is, in the case of this last and of the *Atharvapra-tiçākhyā*, positive proof that they have been brought into their present form at a period later than Pāṇini; for they show an acquaintance with the anubandhas he uses, and which, Patañjali says, were invented by him.

Thus we find *tiñ* (i., 27), *āñ* (vi., 24 ?), *luk* (iii., 12), *lup* (i., 114), *et* and *ot* (i., 114; iv., 58) as indicated by Profr. Weber¹⁾, and the first alone of these, *tiñ*, is sufficient to place this *Prātiçākhyā* after Pāṇini, as was pointed out by Goldstücker²⁾.

Profr. Weber also pointed out³⁾ the close connection between the wording of the sūtras in this *Prātiçākhyā* as compared with Pāṇini's, and Profr. Goldstücker attempted⁴⁾ by a minute criticism to show not only that the *Kātyāyana* to whom this *Prātiçākhyā* is attributed is the same person as the author of the criticisms on Pāṇini's sūtras, but also that he wrote the former before the latter. He assigns two reasons for this view: 1) that the *Vārttikas* merely include criticisms on sūtras of Pāṇini which were not noticed in the *Prātiçākhyā*, and 2) that some of the *Vārttikas* are obvious improvements on sūtras in the *Prātiçākhyā*. But an enquiry of this nature is hardly possible at present, nor will it be so for a long time to come.

Profr. Weber considers⁵⁾ that chapters vii. and viii. are accretions to the original text; they are obviously intended to make the text of more general application. This *Prātiçākhyā* appears to have originally been

1) "Ind. Studien", iv., p. 83.

2) "Pāṇini's Place", p. 207.

3) "Ind. Studien", iv., p. 90.

4) "Pāṇini's Place", pp. 205-6.

5) "Ind. Studien", iv., pp. 821-2 and 827-8.

intended for the Kāṇva recension of the white Yajurveda, but now includes references to the Mādhyandina recension also.

d. **Atharvavedaprātiçākhyā.** As Profr. Weber first pointed out, this is the most systematic, and therefore, the latest of the Prātiçākhyas¹⁾. Profr. Whitney does not claim for this text, any more than for the other Prātiçākhyas, freedom from interpolation, and the presence in it of some of Pāṇini's anubandhas shows when it was reduced to its present form.

These are as follows²⁾: the particles u and su which are called uñ and suñ to distinguish them from the exclamation u and the case-ending su. Again it seems likely that in iv., 16 taratamapoḥ is to be read, and the suffix p is then Pāṇiniyan. This Prātiçākhyā also uses a large number of gaṇas which is a sign that it is a recent work; its sūtra style is also most highly developed, and can in this respect (unlike the rest) be fully compared with Pāṇini's Grammar.

The result of this survey of the texts of the Prātiçākhyas is, that they have been modified in two ways:

1. By accretions and interpolations intended to make special treatises more general and complete. This is a natural result of the fact that some one out of several such treatises as once existed for each Veda, came in course of time to supersede the others which were neglected and thus became lost. It is impossible to show when the interpolations were made, but it is not possible to believe that it was done at any remote period.

2. By revisions of style chiefly intended to systematize the texts, and also tending to bring them more or less into connection with general grammar. In the case of the Kātyāyanaprātiçākhyā and that of the Atharvaveda it is plain that this revision has been effected after Pāṇini's time.

The existence of two recensions at least of Yāska's Nirukta³⁾ proves that the first of these causes has been at work at that text; of the second I cannot find there any decisive traces.

3. Much the same causes of modification can be traced in the general treatises on grammar.

a. **Pāṇini's "Çabdānuçāsana" (sūtras).** Pāṇini's text has usually been accepted as perfectly immaculate, and Goldstücker's conclusions (in

1) "Ind. Studien," iv., p. 79. Cfr. Profr. Whitney's remarks on pp. 248-9 of his edition.

2) cfr. "Ind. Studien," iv., p. 81 and pp. 193-4 of Profr. Whitney's edition.

3) "Nirukta," ed. Roth. p. iv. Weber, "Indische Streifen," ii., p. 8.

his famous "Pāṇini's Place") assume this to be the case; but, recently, doubts have arisen, and it is no longer possible to accept the sūtras as perfectly free from interpolation or revision. The present views are mostly the consequence of the uncertainty attending the history of Patañjali's great commentary on Pāṇini's sūtras, and the discovery that it supports explicitly only about 1,720 sūtras of the whole number (3,983) that we actually find in Pāṇini¹). It yet remains to be ascertained how many others can be inferred to have been in existence as implied by undoubted sūtras of Pāṇini, or as quoted in the Mahābhāṣya; but a distinction must be made as the condition of the text of the Mahābhāṣya is far from certain.

As regards the sūtras of Pāṇini it is certain that at least one revision was effected, and that this revised text as well as the original text of Pāṇini were both in use in the 7th century A. D. For this we have the good authority of Hiouen-Thsang's biographers Hoei-Li and Yen-Thsong; they say: "Un brāhmane nommé le Rīchi Po-ni-ni (Pāṇini) . . . le rédigea en huit mille ṣlōkas. C'est l'ouvrage qui est maintenant en usage dans l'Inde. Dans ces derniers temps, un brāhmane l'abrégea encore, à la demande d'un roi de l'Inde du Sud où il était né, et le rédigea en deux mille cinq cents Ṣlōkas. Cette édition est fort répandue dans les royaumes des frontières; mais les savants de l'Inde ne la savent point"²). There must be some mistake here about the number of Ṣlōkas in the two texts, but I see no reason to doubt the existence of two recensions of Pāṇini's sūtras in the 7th century. Hiouen-Thsang's very precise statement is that Pāṇini's treatise contained 1000 Ṣlōkas³). Profr. Goldstücker was the first to point out two facts which indicate conclusively that our MSS. of Pāṇini differ in some respects from the original text. These are: 1) that Pāṇini (according to Patañjali and Kaiyaṣa) added certain mute letters to the sūtras, which showed by their numerical value the extent of the adhikāra⁴), and 2) that he marked some words in the sūtras with a svarita which served much the same purpose⁵). The extensive

1) Aufrecht ("Catalogus" pp. 158-160) gives details; see also "Ind. Studien", xiii, p. 297, note; where Profr. Weber has again examined the question.

2) "Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang", pp. 165-6.

3) "Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales", II., p. 127.

4) "Pāṇini's Place", p. 50.

5) Do. p. 58. Pāṇini's three ways of marking an adhikāra appear to me to be all founded on reason, and to suit the circumstances of his text. Thus the svarita marks the adhikāra when it extends over few sūtras, the numerical mute letter when it extends over several sūtras, and prak with an ablative in cases where the extent is still greater.

commentaries now in existence probably caused the discontinuance of the practice of writing these marks, and they no longer are to be found in our MSS. That the earlier commentaries had this source of information, adds immensely to their value.

If we take the actual text of Pāṇini's sūtras, we shall find that it slightly exceeds Hiouen-Thsang's thousand *ṣloka*s (*granthas*), but considering that this statement refers to the text as it was in the 7th century it would not do to take it as evidence of interpolation. What was done in this way must have been done earlier if at all. The evidence of the commentaries being hardly sufficient to support the text of Pāṇini (as I shall shortly demonstrate), the only means of criticism remaining is to examine the internal positive evidence. But it would be obviously unfair to base any conclusion on inconsistencies of form, or use of technical terms or even omissions; for some such defects were easily detected, and exposed by Kātyāyana, and though his criticism may be captious in many instances, yet with such a treatise as Pāṇini's is, perfection cannot be possibly expected. What can be done is to examine narrowly the internal evidence from the historical point of view; but I must here remark that Indian chronology and literary history, notwithstanding the immense progress made during the last thirty years, are too imperfectly known as yet, to allow of much success in the application of this method, especially as one cannot hope to find many historical inconsistencies in a grammatical treatise. Examples of rules are, *e. g.*, well known to be common tradition with the grammarians, and one meets with them everywhere; it would be as unsafe to found any historical conclusions upon such an illusive basis¹⁾, as to debate seriously who the Balbus and Caius were, who (according to the old school of Latin grammars, now happily obsolete) did so many things apparently with a view to perplex little boys in distant countries. With this view, it is impossible to fix the earliest date for such treatises by this means, which may perhaps avail to show the latest date. The question of the state of the text remains.

External historical evidence as to Pāṇini's date does not go far back. The earliest traces are to be found in Ṣabarasvāmin's commentary²⁾ on the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* attributed to Jaimini, but as the date of this writer is not known, the earliest trustworthy references are really to be found

1) See Profr. Weber's remarks in "Ind. Studien," xiii., pp. 310-2.

2) *e. g.* on i., 1, 5 (where Pāṇini is mentioned by name); p. 16, *Bibl. Indica*, ed.

in the works of *Çaṅkarācārya*¹⁾ who lived in the 7th century A. D., but even here quotations are very rare. *Kumārila Bhaṭṭa*, on the other hand, does not appear to ever cite *Pāṇini*. It is not till we come to the S. Indian commentaries on the Vedas by *Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara* (about 1000 A. D.) and *Bharatasvāmin* and *Sāyaṇa*, that we find *Pāṇini* regularly and consistently quoted. As a general rule it may be stated that the later the commentary, the more frequently is this done. But, it may be remarked, these quotations are often different from the actual wording of *Pāṇini*, and though, as *Profr. Haug* long ago pointed out, such quotations are merely intended as indications, and the reader is presumed to know by heart the book quoted; yet it is a pity that editors of Sanskrit texts have not, as a rule, ever noticed the various readings thus furnished, but have corrected their text by the current texts of *Pāṇini* etc.²⁾

The evidence of the commentaries on *Pāṇini* is not in reality so complete as might be supposed, and only the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Kāçikā* can be considered; for *Kaiyaṭa*'s commentary does not go beyond the *Mahābhāṣya*, and the recent work of *Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa* only supports *Kaiyaṭa*'s *ṭikā*.

The real nature of the *Mahābhāṣya* was not understood for a long time; it was known by the first edition of *Pāṇini* (published at Calcutta in 1810 for *H. T. Colebrooke* and under his direction) that many sūtras were not noticed, but *Profr. Weber* (in 1849) first pointed out that the *Mahābhāṣya* is far from being a perpetual commentary. Its real scope, as it now exists, is well described by *Profr. Aufrecht*, who says:

“*Patanjali*s non tam commentarium perpetuum ad *Pāṇinem* scribere, quam criticum munus exercere voluit. Quare res ipsas raro attingit, sed quae ad technicam regularum constructionem et formem pertinent, accurate illustrat. Amplam igitur exspatiandi materiam iis offert, qui grammaticorum argutiis delectantur, sed in grammaticas et lexica nostra minor, quam ex tanta mole exspectabas, fructus ex eo redundabit.” This peculiar nature of *Patanjali*'s work, renders all reference by him to sūtras which he has passed over in their proper place³⁾, a safe criterion of their authenticity, for interpolation is less likely to have happened in such a case. Thus the number of sūtras which at first sight seem open to doubt

1) *e. g.* in his *C.* on the *Vedāntasūtra* i., 1, 13 and 14 etc.

2) *Profr. Max Müller* (*Rigveda*, vi., pp. xii. ff.) has made some excellent remarks on *Sāyaṇa*'s quotations of *Pāṇini* etc. As *Pāṇini* is almost exclusively the grammatical authority followed by the commentators, this is really a matter of considerable importance.

3) *Profr. Weber* “*Ind. Studien*”, xiii., p. 299.

will be considerably reduced, and the residue will be nothing very formidable. It is likely that these interpolations have arisen out of Vārttikas¹⁾.

There are also serious reasons for doubting if the Mahābhāṣya is still in its original condition.

Profr. Goldstücker held that there are historical references in the Mahābhāṣya which cannot be put earlier than 140-120 B. C.; this is, therefore, the earliest possible date for Patañjali, and all circumstances considered, this is probably near the time when the Mahābhāṣya was first composed. But there is a singular passage at the end of the second chapter of Bhartṛihari's Vākyapadiya which was also pointed out by Profr. Goldstücker²⁾, and has been generally understood to state that the Mahābhāṣya had been completely remodelled. The MSS. of the Vākyapadiya are unfortunately imperfect and very incorrect, and it is difficult to affix a precise meaning to the passage in question, and say what was done with the copy of the Mahābhāṣya which was obtained from the Deccan³⁾. It is singular that the S. of India should in this case also have preserved such an important work, and this, perhaps, explains the fact that the Northern and Southern MSS. of the Mahābhāṣya differ to no great extent, though various readings occur.

The Rājatarāṅgiṇī (i., 176) relates a revision, at all events, of the text of the Mahābhāṣya by the grammarian Candra and others under orders of king Abhimanyu of Cashmere, about the first century A. D.⁴⁾

But, it appears to me that the form of the Mahābhāṣya is in itself a convincing proof that the text is not in its original form. That it is highly controversial has already been noticed, but I think that, as it now stands it may be rather taken as a synopsis of arguments for and against the details of Pāṇini's system, and as a controversial manual. No doubt, Kātyāyana criticized Pāṇini, and Patañjali replied in justification of the former, but the Mahābhāṣya goes further than this. The first āhnika which contains a long argument as to the utility of grammar etc. and which fills no less than 27 pages in the splendid India Museum facsimile edition, has no parallel in the older commentaries, and certainly is not

1) Profr. Aufrecht, after cautioning critics against too hasty a rejection of any sūtras as not belonging to Pāṇini's original text, says: "Vix tamen dubitaverim, quin sūtra plura e vārttikis orta sunt."

2) "Pāṇini's Place", pp. 287-8.

3) Profr. Kielhorn (*"Indian Antiquary"* lii., p. 285) has given this passage with the aid of new MSS. He does not understand it in the way Goldstücker did.

4) Lassen, li., p. 887. Profr. Kielhorn has taken a different view (I. A. iv., p. 107).

to be expected in a book of the second century before our era, but is just what we find in the controversial literature of the 7th and following centuries A. D.¹⁾ How is it possible to believe that Patañjali himself found it necessary to furnish arguments which would justify the study to which he had devoted his life? Again the whole arrangement and the matter are too systematic and copious for a mere refutation of Kātyāyana, whereas the epigrammatic forms of Kātyāyana's criticisms on Pāṇini point rather to an abridgement of Kātyāyana's words than to quotations. It must not be forgotten that Vārttikas of others besides Kātyāyana are occasionally given²⁾. Is it likely that these critics of Pāṇini merely stated their corrections, real or presumed, in the fewest possible words, and did not assign full reasons for their opinions? It thus appears to me that the Mahābhāṣya, as it stands, is rather a skilful compilation of the views of Pāṇini's critics and of their refutation by Patañjali than the real text of the original works, and that it has been made with a view to practical polemics.

The excellent Kāçikā fully supports Pāṇini's sūtras as we possess them; but though his excellent commentary must have been in existence before the 12th century A. D., its date is unknown and cannot be very much earlier than that period.

It is thus tolerably plain that there is no reason to believe that Pāṇini's system ever was other than what we find, or that it has been substantially altered; the interpolations (if any) are of sūtras and parts of sūtras³⁾, and the way this occurred in grammatical treatises is best shown in the Uṇādisūtras which form an appendix to Pāṇini. I shall, accordingly, now proceed to show the state of this text.

f. The Uṇādisūtras⁴⁾ (Pāṇiniya). The only Uṇādisūtras known till quite recently were those attached to Pāṇini's Grammar and which

1) It is remarkable that Çaṅkarācārya and even Sāyana (C. on the R̥gveda) give similar justifications of their work. The controversial object of these commentators is very apparent in this as in many other ways.

2) Again, some of these Vārttikas appear to be fragments of verses, and metrical Kārikās are quoted. This looks as if the Mahābh. merely gave quotations from Kātyāyana etc.

3) Profr. Max Müller (*Academy*, August 4th, 1874, p. 156) considers that of some paribhāṣās "Pāṇini may hardly have been conscious, others owe their origin decidedly to the after-thoughts of later grammarians"; but as many are presupposed by Pāṇini's system, it is just possible that some may indicate a revision at a subsequent period; Pāṇini, however, must have used a large number of paribhāṣās.

4) I follow Profr. Max Müller in writing this word Uṇādi; I find that the S. Indian MSS. have it so; in them the distinction between ṇ and ṇṇ is much clearer than in the Nāgarī character.

were edited by Profr. Aufrecht¹⁾. These sūtras were attributed by Nāgoji²⁾ to Čakatāyana, and this view seemed probable on the ground that he is known (by Yāska and Patañjali's statements) to have held that "dhātujam nāma". But this ascription was conclusively shown by the late Profr. Goldstücker to be wrong, for as these sūtras exist at present they use throughout Pāṇini's technical terms, and cannot, therefore, be older than that writer³⁾. Profr. Goldstücker held Pāṇini himself to be their author; it is obvious that they form a necessary appendix to the grammatical sūtras of Pāṇini, like the Dhātupāṭha, Gaṇapāṭha, Liṅgānuśāsana and the Paribhāṣās, but it does not necessarily follow that all these are also by Pāṇini; in their present state they show evidence of gradual additions and also of revision. There are five similar treatises attached to the so-called Čakatāyanavyākaraṇa which in most respects agree with those already mentioned as belonging to Pāṇini's Grammar⁴⁾; and it is probable that in course of time others will be discovered which attach themselves to the other chief grammars; such a treatise is the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi which belongs to an, as yet, unknown grammar. There are several Dhātupāṭhas.

That the Pāṇiniya Uṇādisūtras are, in their actual state, interpolated has long been suspected, and can now be proved. Profr. Max Müller was the first to indicate this important fact in his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature"⁵⁾. He there mentioned four suspicious words—jina (iii., 2), stūpa (iii., 25), dīnāra (iii., 140) and tiriṭa (iv., 184). The reasons for suspecting these words are obvious: dīnāra is the Latin word denarius which is impossible in an early treatise like these sūtras; tiriṭa has not been found earlier than Pāṇini; stūpa and jina both are Buddhist words, and probably belong to a period when that religion had spread over India. Profr. Max Müller also pointed out that (as Ujvaladatta states) the earlier commentaries did not notice the first three words, and that Sāyaṇa and Nṛsīmha both omit the last. Profr. Aufrecht has proved⁶⁾ other interpolations, *e. g.* mihira (in i., 52), an obviously recent word in Sanskrit⁷⁾. He inferred that the sūtras i., 9, 26, 57-63, 84; iii., 25, 91, 101, 140; iv.,

1) With Ujvaladatta's C. 8°. 1859.

2) "Pāṇini's Place", p. 176.

3) Do. p. 181.

4) The Uṇādisūtra is in 4 pādas.

5) Second edition, pp. 245 ff. See also his remarks in the introduction to vol. vi. of the *Rigveda*, pp. xv. ff. Sāyaṇa's quotations furnish numerous *vv. ll.*

6) pp. x., xl. of his edition.

7) p. x. do. It is, however, in the MS. I am going to describe.

155, 185 are later additions. He also pointed out several inconsistencies and errors in the text, but these are hardly a safe evidence of interpolation in a book so artificially arranged as the Uṇādisūtras. Profr. Goldstücker pointed out¹⁾ that Nṛsiṃha's commentary (written 1520 A. D.) furnishes many various readings, and adds six sūtras. It is, thus, plain that the received text of the Pāṇiniya Uṇādi sūtras is not in its original condition; I am, fortunately, able to illustrate this fact by a grantha MS. of the sūtras which furnishes an entirely new recension of the text. This MS. (Tanjore, No. 9,994) is, unfortunately, the only one of this recension to which I can now refer; a few years ago several were in existence, and I have myself seen some of them, now they have been lost²⁾. It is written on palmyra leaves, and is probably 150 years old; some of the leaves are damaged. The chief results of a collation of this MS. with Aufrecht's text are as follows:

Pāda i., sūtra	9.	<i>omitted.</i>
	10.	<i>nic ca.</i>
	11.	<i>*shṇiḥi*</i>
	26.	<i>om. sthaḥ.</i>
	42.	<i>om.</i>
	52.	<i>om. *ṣushi*</i>
	54.	<i>om. *sphira*</i>
	57-64.	<i>om.</i>
	67, 69 and 71.	<i>om.</i>
	84.	<i>khadeṣca.</i>
	103.	<i>om.</i>
	104.	<i>om.</i>
	117.	<i>om.</i>
	119-124.	<i>om. 123 occurs in p. v.</i>
	140.	<i>om.</i>

In this pāda some 10 new sūtras are apparently inserted, and the order of others is changed.

1) "Pāṇini's Place", pp. 160 ff.

2) During the last 15 years numbers of MSS. have disappeared in S. India owing to neglect. In a few years more, hardly an old MS. will be found; for owing to the wretched cheap editions of the Rāmāyaṇa etc., MSS. of even popular books are not replaced. In this case the press promises to do more harm than good. The Madras editions of Sanskrit books are mostly careless reprints of the Calcutta editions.

As regards the second pāda, both texts agree better:

- Pāda ii., 13. *om. °dṛipi°*
 33. *om.*
 39. *om. ca.*
 40. *vṛiçcikṛishi(kṛiçibhya)kikan.*
 46. *çāsa inac.*
 68. *om. dūh.*
 77. *om.*
 93. *om.*
 96. *°tvashṭṛixattṛiho°*
 122. *follows 120.*

Three additional sūtras are inserted, and there are a few doubtful vv. ll.

- Pāda iii., 25. *doubtful, MS. is injured here.*
 28. *om. °çilp°*
 29. *om. °madi°*
 47. *om. °nī°*
 63. *om.*
 77. *om.*
 83. *om. āṇako.*
 87. *om.*

After 105 several sūtras appear to be omitted, but the MS. is here much injured so that it is impossible to draw any safe inferences.

The fourth pāda presents the greater part of the sūtras that we find in Profr. Aufrecht's text, but in an entirely different order. Sūtras 1 and 2 are the same in both, then come two or three which are apparently new, then 75, 76, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 94, 95, ? a new sūtra, 97, 98, 90 of Profr. Aufrecht's edition in order. At the end there is less difference, and the last sūtras (from 200 to the end) differ but little. In the rest there are many differences of reading.

The fifth pāda shows in a striking way the growth of the Uṇādisūtras; here we find only the following out of the 70 sūtras in Profr. Aufrecht's edition:

1-5; 8; 9 (?); 10; 11; 55-57; 61; 123 of p. i.; (a new sūtra occurs here); 62; (? a new sūtra); 63; 52; 67; 64; 68-70. The term pāda shows that this fifth chapter must be an accretion.

The above brief summary must suffice; for if I were to notice all the differences of reading and the order of the sūtras, it would be necessary

to print the whole text; and taking into consideration the condition of the MS. in some parts, this could only be properly done by a facsimile.

What I have done will make it evident that, after the original compilation of these Uṇādisūtras as a necessary appendix to Pāṇini's Grammar, and whether he was the original author or not, the text has been greatly altered—not in system, but by additions and re-arrangement. It is also evident that the texts of this treatise, as we find them in Profr. Aufrecht's edition and in the grantha MS. described above, have been brought into their present forms not earlier than the first centuries A. D., for the doubtful word mihira is found in both. Dīnāra would more readily find its way into the northern than into the grantha text, and this, perhaps, accounts for its omission in the last.

To enquire into the condition of all the appendixes to Pāṇini's Grammar would require too much space to allow of my doing so here. It will be enough to remark that the uncertain condition of the gaṇas is evident from the different readings given by Böhtlingk; this collection does not appear to be older than the Kāṇikā; at least, in the accepted form, but MSS. vary much. The Dhātupāṭha is also open to doubt. The late Profr. Goldstücker remarks of it: "There is the same probability for such additions having been made to the original list (i. e. Dhātupāṭha) as in the case of all other gaṇas; and we may fairly, therefore, ascribe the present Dhātupāṭhas to various authors, who also, perhaps, added meanings to the list composed by Pāṇini¹⁾".

But the separate existence and uncertain state of these appendixes must have had as a result the preservation of the text of Pāṇini's Grammar in almost its primitive form. For, if the collection of the Paribhāṣhās in the shape of a distinct treatise may have induced changes in the order of the sūtras, and perhaps alterations in some of the anubandhas, it is obvious that the other collections afford means of incorporating new words and additions such as occur through the growth of language, and this without affecting the original grammar, which, thus, remains a safe standard.

The period during which these accretions and interpolations were made must have ended with the fourth or fifth century A. D. The commentaries which mostly were written some centuries later, display a phase of literary activity that will not admit the supposition of a correction of the text of Pāṇini by additional observation, as their nature is purely scholastic. They do not aim at collecting new facts, for Pāṇini was sup-

1) "Pāṇini's Place", p. 183.

posed to have done all that could be done in this way, and his authority was unquestioned, but they refine and argue upon the merest abstractions. If, by chance, a new fact is mentioned, it is simply for the purposes of argument, and the exceedingly few quotations in the Indian grammatical treatises must strike every reader. As applied to the interpretation of texts, the authority of Pāṇini is supreme, and rarely indeed does one find parallel passages quoted.

I shall now give some account of a treatise which bears the name of a predecessor of Pāṇini and Yāska—Çākāṭyāna—but which has been preserved in a modern re-cast.

g. Çākāṭyānavyākaraṇa. As regards the grammar¹⁾ now known as Çākāṭyāna's it is impossible to say if this text is the one to which Vopadeva referred, but it is not difficult to prove of its present state—

1. That it is more recent than Jinendra's Grammar; and, therefore, *a fortiori*

2. More recent than Pāṇini (as was first seen by Dr. Rost). But yet

3. That it represents the doctrine taught by the real Çākāṭyāna, as quoted by Pāṇini and others.

1. As regards the first proposition, I have already shown (p. 7, note 2) that the actual text of Çākāṭyāna quotes an Indra on a particular matter, and that the Jinendra Grammar actually teaches this rule. But it is not perfectly safe to rely on a single fact like this, even though the commentary proves the sūtra in question to belong to the text; I shall therefore show by internal evidence that Jinendra's Grammar is subsequent to Pāṇini's Grammar, and that the actual Çākāṭyāna Grammar has copied Jinendra's. It is not unlikely that Jinendra is the same as Jinendrabuddhi who wrote the commentary (Nyāsa) on the well known Kāçikā vṛitti (to Pāṇini)²⁾, but whether that be the case or not, his name conclusively shows that he must have lived long subsequent to Pāṇini. If then he has sūtras identical with ones which occur in Pāṇini, it necessarily follows that he has copied. But this is the case. Thus (*e.g.*) we find “stoḥ çcunā çcuḥ”³⁾ (= Pāṇini viii., 4, 40); “svaritenā 'dhikāraḥ” (i., 2, 5 = P. i., 3, 11); “samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ” (i., 3, 1 = P. ii., 1, 1).

1) It contains about 2,280 sūtras in 4 adhyāyas, each containing 4 pādas.

2) Colebrooke mentions that the Kāvya-kāmadhenu (by Vopadeva) refers to a Jinendra and a Jinendrabuddhi.

3) The only MSS. of the Jinendravākyakarṇa that I know of, are at Madras, and comprise the sūtras and also a Prayoga apparently by the author. I got some time ago part of the first (to ii., 1); and I have lately received from Profr. Oppert two fragments of the last including sandhi and declension of nouns; my references are, thus, only approximate as far as numbers go.

These sūtras belong to the system of Pāṇini, and, therefore, conclusively show that Jinendra borrowed.

Again it is evident that Jinendra has improved on Pāṇini—

- a. In the arrangement of the Ḫivasūtras;
- b. In making some sūtras more precise;
- c. In technical terms.

a.) Jinendra allows only 13 Ḫivasūtras as follows: 1) a, i, u, ṇ; 2) ṛi, k; 3) e, o, ṇ; 4) ai, au, c; 5) h, y, v, r, l, ṇ; 6) á, m, ṇ, ṇ, n, m; 7) jh, bh, á; 8) gh, ḍh, dh, sh; 9) j, b, g, ḍ, d, ḥ; 10) kh, ph, ch, ṭh, th, v; 11) k, p, y; 12) ḥ, sh, s, aḥ, Σ k¹⁾, Σ p, r; 13) h, l. The 'Prayoga' says:

Iti pratyāhārasūtrāṇi | uktam ca:

"Syus trayodaḥa sūtrāṇi tāvantaḥ cā 'nubandhakāḥ |

Shaṭcatvāriṃḥato varṇāḥ²⁾ pratyāhārasya saṅgrāhe" ||

This arrangement is a slight alteration from Pāṇini's system; Jinendra having thirteen of these sūtras instead of Pāṇini's fourteen; but he has gone still farther in some of the Samjñāsūtras.

b.) Thus the rule for forming pratyāhāras is in Pāṇini (i., 1, 71): "ādir antyena sahe 'tā"; Jinendra says (i., 1, 1): "sātme 'tā 'diḥ". Again, Pāṇini (i., 1) has: "tulyāsyaprayatnam savarṇam"; the corresponding sūtra in Jinendra is (i., 1, 3): "svasthānakriyam svam". Again Pāṇini has (i., 3, 1): "bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ", for which Jinendra has (i., 2, 1): "bhūvādaye dhuḥ". Again (i., 2, 179): "eko dvir bahuḥ cai 'kaḥaḥ" gives slightly abbreviated terms for the three numbers—singular, dual and plural; and these are new technical terms compared with the ekavacana etc. of Pāṇini. So also "idūdeddvir daḥ" (i., 1, 20) = Pāṇini's "idūdeddivacanam pragrihyam" (i., 1). Again "yathāsāṅkhyam samāḥ" (i., 2) = Pāṇini's "yathāsāṅkhyam anudeḥaḥ samānām" (i., 3, 10). Ktaktavatū (i., 1, 26) is for Pāṇini's "ktaktavatū nishṭhā" (i., 1, 26).

c.) Jinendra has added a number of new technical terms, e.g.: ep (guṇa); aip (vṛiddhi); ṇa as a name for nasals (i., 1, 6); di ("akarmako diḥ" i., 2, 2); dī (= a syllable of 2 mātrās³⁾); dhu (dhātu); pa (= a syllable of 3 mātrās); pra (= a syllable of one mātrā); miṇ (tiṇ); mṛit (= līṅga or

1) The MSS. read am a Σ k etc., but it is not possible to see how am can come in here, and as a similar letter is needed, I conclude that it must be an error for aḥ. In this part all the MSS. are evidently corrupt.

2) There are only 42 in the sūtras; do ā, ī, ū and ṛī make up the number?

3) L, 1, 4: "Ākālo 'c pradīpaḥ" = "Ū 3 kṛlo 'j jhrasvadīrghaplutaḥ" (Pāṇini, i., 2, 27).

prātipadika); *sva* [= "s(a)va(rṇa)"]. Jinendra's "nācaḥ kham" (i., 1, 70) is evidently suggested by Pāṇini's "adarṇanam lopaḥ" (i., 1, 50).

But, with all this, his grammar has essentially preserved the Pāṇiniyan system and technical terms, and to any one acquainted with those terms, it can offer but little difficulty.

If, now, we look at the current text of *Çākaṭāyana*, it will be seen—

a. That there is much in common with Jinendra's Grammar, but that the *Çākaṭāyana* Grammar has also improved on some of the Jinendra sūtras;

b. That in some instances where Jinendra has sūtras identical with ones in Pāṇini, the *Çākaṭāyana* Grammar has improved on these.

a.) Thus, the actual *Çākaṭāyana* Grammar has precisely the same sūtras as Jinendra in certain cases; (*e.g.*) the 13 *Çivasūtras*; "aprayogī 't; eco 'yavāyāv"; "ktaktavatū".

The second of these ("aprayogī 't") is a great improvement on Pāṇini's (i., 3, 2)—"upadeṣe 'j anunāsika it"; and the author of the actual *Çākaṭāyana* can only have copied from Jinendra. In other instances improvements have been made on Jinendra sūtras; such (*e.g.*) are—"sātme 't 'et" (i., 1, 1) = Jinendra's "sātme 'tā 'diḥ"; "svam sthānāsyaike" (i., 1, 3) = Jinendra's "svasthānakriyam svam" (i., 1, 3); "sūn padam" (i., 1, 62) = Jinendra's "supmiṇantam padam" and Pāṇini's "suptiṇantam padam". So again "ekadvibahau" (i., 3, 98) may be compared with the Jinendra's "eko dvir bahuḥ cai 'kaṇaḥ" (i., 2, 179). So the *Çākaṭāyanavyākaraṇa* has "kriyārtho dhātuḥ" (i., 1, 22) which is an improvement on Jinendra's "bhūvādayo dhuḥ".

b.) But in some cases where Jinendra has exactly copied Pāṇini, the *Çākaṭāyana* Grammar has adaptations. Such *e.g.* is the sūtra "çcau çcuḥ stoḥ" (i., 1, 137) which corresponds to Pāṇini's and Jinendras "stoḥ çcunā çcuḥ". Again Jinendra modifies slightly Pāṇini's rule about the pragrahyas i, ū and e, as has already been shown, but the *Çākaṭāyana* Grammar effects this by an anubandha g, and has simply (i., 1, 100) "gitah", a sūtra which ends a list of exceptions to the rules of sandhi.

Where Jinendra (following Pāṇini) puts two or more terms (in a samāsa) in the dual and plural respectively, *Çākaṭāyana* has refined on this and uses only the singular.

That the grammarian who reduced the *Çākaṭāyana* Grammar to its present form copied largely from Pāṇini is also evident; the greater part of the anubandhas and technical terms are the same in both, and it has

been already shown that Pāṇini introduced new anubandhas. Not only this, but very many sūtras and even *saṃjñā* are identical in Pāṇini and Čakaṭāyana, or show nearly trivial modifications in the last. Dr. Bühler has already compared several such in the paper by him¹⁾ to which I have already referred. It would be useless to give more details here, as such coincidences are only of importance in consequence of Patañjali's statement about the anubandhas used by Pāṇini, which is, by itself, decisive.

Thus, though the Čakaṭāyana Grammar has not entirely copied Jinendra's new technical terms, yet apart from the quotation of the last by the former, there can be no doubt that it is relatively modern not only as compared with Pāṇini, but also as regards Jinendra.

But it may be as well to remark that there are other reasons why it is impossible to accept the actual Čakaṭāyanavyākaraṇa as the original treatise.

As has already been mentioned²⁾, Profr. Goldstücker has pointed out the great development between Yāska's and Pāṇini's views with regard to *nipātas*; now, it is incredible that a predecessor of Yāska should enunciate the same doctrine in this respect as Pāṇini does, but this is the case, if we assume the Čakaṭāyanavyākaraṇa to be the real original treatise. Čakaṭāyana even has *ti* for Pāṇini's *gati*.

We also find sūtras which have evidently arisen out of the Vārttikas to Pāṇini, e. g. "Atharvaṇo 'ṇ'"³⁾.

As in Pāṇini, we find in the Čakaṭāyana Grammar the rules for forming the curious names of *Sāma* verses as found in the *gānas*, and other references to the Vedas, and the rule '*svaritenā 'dhikārah*' shows that the author knew of the accents, yet he has omitted all practical teaching with reference to this subject; but this never could have been done by the real Čakaṭāyana. Nor would he have neglected the Vedic language.

Many other sūtras are identical, or nearly so, with sūtras of Pāṇini, and contain words which are very unlikely to have been known to the real Čakaṭāyana. Such are: "Yāskāder gotre"⁴⁾; but the grammarian Yāska appears to have been the first to make this name remarkable, and

1) In "Orient und Occident," II., pp. 691 ff. Had Dr. Bühler been in possession of a complete copy of the Čakaṭāyanavyākaraṇa, I have no doubt that he would have arrived at the same conclusions as I have done here.

2) p. 18 note.

3) III., 2, 151. The C. explains this by Patañjali's words (on P. IV., 8, 133) "Ātharvaṇo dharmah | ātharvaṇa āmnāyah".

4) II., 4, 109 = Pāṇini, II., 4, 63.

he quotes *Çakatāyana*. Again: "*Çaṇḍikasindhvādiçalātūrān nyāñchan*"¹⁾, which gives *Çālāturiya*, a well known name of Pāṇini himself; the last might notice such a word, but why should his predecessor *Çakatāyana* do so?

Still more striking instances are: *Āryavajra*²⁾ (as the name of a grammarian)—a name of by no means ancient appearance; *Vāsudeva* and *Arjuna*³⁾; *nāstika*; etc.⁴⁾—sects which can hardly have been in existence long before Pāṇini; *nirvāṇa*⁵⁾ here unquestionably in the Buddhist sense; *mīmāṃsā*⁶⁾ according to Goldstücker this word cannot be properly found in Pāṇini; so also we find the sūtra "*jīvane 'paṇye*"⁷⁾ which provides for the formation of names of idols carried about as a means of livelihood but not for sale—hardly an ancient practice; quite as extraordinary are the words *Çaka*⁸⁾ etc., if this treatise be assumed to be by a predecessor of Pāṇini.

In short, the actual *Çakatāyanavyākaraṇa* shows a knowledge of the same literature as Pāṇini and even more. Is this possible except that the text has been revised completely? Negative evidence is, from this point of view, untrustworthy.

There are, besides, yet other considerations which tend to prove that the *Çakatāyana Grammar*, as we have it, is not in its original form. It is now composed, (like the entire Pāṇini's Grammar) of six sections—the sūtras; *paribhāṣhās*; *gaṇapāṭha*; *uṇādisūtras*; *liṅgānuçāsana* and *dhātupāṭha*⁹⁾. Throughout, these sections have the closest relation to the corresponding ones in the Pāṇiniya Grammar, and have no appearance of being the productions of so primitive an author as a predecessor of Yāska. Such a writer would never have found it necessary to make a collection of *paribhāṣhās*; if he used any at all, they would have been few, and inserted among the sūtras proper which could hardly be in such an artificial style as is here the case, and which goes beyond even Pāṇini.

1) III., 1, 201=P. iv., 8, 94.

2) I., 2, 18.

3) III., 1, 194=P. iv., 8, 98.

4) III., 2, 61—"Daiṣṭīkāstikanāstikāḥ"—P. iv., 4, 60.

5) iv., 1, 249. The C. has "*nirvāṇo muniḥ*" as an example.

6) II., 4, 180. "*Çixāmīmāṃsāsāmakramapadād vuo*" (C. *çixakaḥ*; *mīmāṃsakaḥ*; *sāmakaḥ*; *kramakaḥ*; *padakaḥ*). This sūtra is obviously formed from the Pāṇiniya gaṇa '*kramādi*'.

7) III., 3, 85. The C. has as examples: "*Vāsudevaḥ*; *Çivaḥ*; *Skandaḥ*; *Vishṇuḥ*."

8) In the usually hopeless confusion with other names which must belong to various periods: II., 4, 104 etc.

9) I have not got the last, but have all the others.

Again there is no trace of the best quotation that we find from the old Çakatāyana, viz.: Patañjali's statement that he said "dhātujaṃ nāma"¹⁾; a quotation that is supported by Yāska's reference²⁾ to the opinion of this grammarian on this very point. "Dhātujaṃ nāma" has every appearance of a genuine old sūtra, but it does not occur in the actual Çakatāyana any more than in the paribhāṣhās attached to that text, nor is there anything like it³⁾.

As regards the attribution of the Uṇādisūtras to Çakatāyana⁴⁾ there is nothing in our texts to support or contradict the theory. There is simply a single sūtra (iv., 3, 279)—"uṇādayaḥ" and an appendix of sūtras closely resembling those which belong to Pāṇini's Grammar.

Again, the Çakatāyana Grammar (as we have it) is called Çabdānu-çāsana, and this is the title of Pāṇini's Grammar. But with all this, there can be no doubt that the actual text of Çakatāyana represents substantially the grammatical doctrine taught by that very early grammarian; Dr. Bühler has conclusively established this fact.

Thus, Pāṇini quotes Çakatāyana in three places:

iii., 4, 111—"Laṇaḥ Çakatāyanasyai 'va." This corresponds to "āddvishor jher jus vā" in the Çakatāyana Grammar (i., 4, 106) as Dr. Bühler has pointed out⁵⁾.

viii., 3, 18—"Vyor laghuprayatnataraḥ Çakatāyanasya." Dr. Bühler has pointed out⁶⁾ that this is of the same effect as Çakatāyana's "Vyoshyā 'ghobhobhagoḥ" "acy aspashaṭṭa ca" (i., 1, 153-4). This doctrine is attributed to Çakatāyana in the Atharvaprātiçākhyā (ii., 24) and also by Ahobala Bhaṭṭa, a late writer.

viii., 4, 50—"Triprabhṛtiṣhu Çakatāyanasya." The sūtras i., 1, 117-119 in the Çakatāyana Grammar teach in effect this doctrine—"Aco hro hracaḥ". "adirghāt". "na samyoge"⁷⁾.

These coincidences prove that our existing treatise is really based on the original work; it is not likely that an Indian forger would have thought of such details; for, in all particulars, Indian forgeries are most clumsy.

1) On Pāṇini, iii., 8, 1.

2) Ed. Roth, p. 81.

3) Other references to Çakatāyana are Rikpr. i., 3; xiii., 16; but these do not admit of identification.

4) See Goldstücker's "Pāṇini's Place", pp. 171-182.

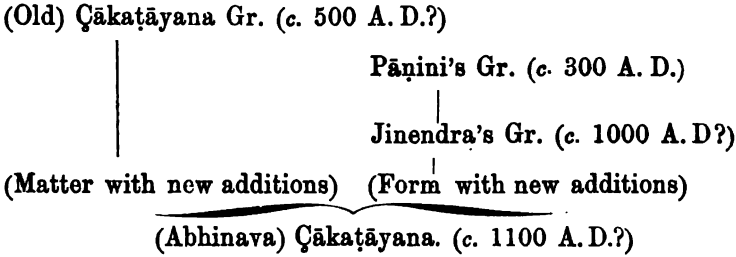
5) "Orient und Occident", iii., p. 182.

6) Do. ii., pp. 691-2.

7) Do. do. pp. 692-3.

The above facts can hardly leave a doubt as to the origin of the present form of the *Çākātāyana Grammar*—that it is a comparatively modern redaction of an old treatise effected under Jain influences not much earlier than the 12th century A. D., for it is not possible to put Jinendra much earlier than that. This points to the period of Jain revival under the *Çalukyas* in the N. Deccan and elsewhere, which is already known, and seems to be the only period possessing this character. The most remarkable literary results of it are the now well known works of Hemacandra. The author of the present redaction of *Çākātāyana's Grammar* must have belonged to Central India. His name is not known; the Grammar is said to be by "*Çrutakevalideçīya-Çākātāyana*" or by "*Çākātāyana almost an arhat.*" The reason of the redaction is evident—the great place Pāṇini's Grammar occupied in brahmanical studies, and the (to Indians) exceedingly great attractions of his algebraic formulæ. On the other hand, the Jains at such a period would not be content with a brahmanical treatise, but would want one of their own as they had for other matters.

The results of the above enquiry may be thus expressed genealogically:



I am not in a position to trace quotations from the actual *Çākātāyana* in other Sanskrit grammatical treatises; according to Profr. Goldstücker¹⁾ the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* quotes repeatedly a *Çākātāyana*, but I am unable to refer to that treatise²⁾. It is very unlikely that the real *Çākātāyana Grammar* is still in existence.

h. Kātantra. It may now be possible to briefly consider the condition of the text of what appears to me to be the most complete existing representative of the Sanskrit Grammars before Pāṇini—the *Kātantra*. As Profr. Eggeling, the editor of this text, will, doubtless, soon have much to say on this subject, my remarks will be very brief.

1) "Pāṇini's Place", p. 177.

2) An edition, in every way complete, is to be hoped for from Profr. Eggeling.

A good deal of the Kātantra is in verse and in ordinary *çloka*s; the rest is in *sūtras* of the simplest character. This varied style makes it very unlikely that it is now in its original form: it is, probably, a compilation from old *sūtras* and *Kārikās*, of which it has preserved much of the original character. The language, also, wants the marks of the earlier periods, and this is an additional reason in favor of the above inference. But a stronger proof that the Kātantra in its present form is not primitive is the presence in it, to a slight extent, of some *anubandhas* etc. which are peculiar to Pāṇini. These almost exclusively occur in chapters which are modern interpolations made with a view to complete the somewhat scanty text, such as the sections on *taddhita* and other derivatives (ii., 6; iv., 1-5).

The use of -t to specialize any particular vowel is an invention of Pāṇini, as he defines its use¹⁾; but this occasionally occurs in the Kātantra²⁾, and must, therefore, be copied from Pāṇini. So also must *ut* (as an *anubandha*)³⁾ and *ṭā*⁴⁾.

That the Kātantra has been brought into its present form at a period later than Pāṇini is thus certain; but the introduction into the original text of a few of Pāṇini's peculiar technical terms has little changed the primitive character of the treatise, and it is therefore, by reason of its completeness, the best existing representative of the school of grammar which preceded Pāṇini's great work, and which soon became obsolete in N. India and among students of Sanskrit.

The condition of the text of Kaccāyana's Grammar is much the same as that of the Kātantra⁵⁾.

The results of the above enquiry are the following.

As regards the condition of the Sanskrit texts that we now possess, it is necessary to distinguish three periods in Indian literary history:—

1. The Vedic or 'pre-historic' period.

The texts which have come down to us from this period were brought into their present form at a period of which we have no knowledge historically. From that time till now they have been handed down with strict accuracy, and the few changes that may be suspected are rather of re-arrangement of matter than alteration of the text.

1) "Taparas tatkalasya", i., 1, 70.

2) i., 2, 17; i., 8, 1; ii., 1, 8-9, 68, etc.

3) ii., 1, 6.

4) ii., 1, 28. 58.

5) But it admits the use of various technical terms (i., 1, 8).

2. The second period may be termed that of 'the mythical age' of Indian literature; for, except the little information that is furnished by Greek writers, and what has been gathered from coins and inscriptions, we know nothing about the history of India during this period which may be said to begin about 500 B. C. and lasted down to 700 A. D.

During this period Indian science and epic poetry began, and were perfected, and to this period must be assigned very nearly all that is of permanent interest and value in Sanskrit literature. Texts of works belonging to this period have been repeatedly worked over and for various objects; we have the results, but no information as to how and when these were obtained; and often these results vary in form, though hardly in the contents. Thus (excepting partly the grammatical treatises, for reasons which I shall presently give) it is very hazardous to attempt to use such texts for historical purposes. The most rigid criticism must be applied to the texts before we can safely presume to quote the epic poetry; but it will take years for this to be done, if it ever can or will be done. And it may be safely asserted that the result of such criticism will be to reduce the value of most of the editions that we have, to less than that of an ordinary MS. Pedants have done their worst during centuries, and thus, for historical purposes, there can be no test by language. We may, eventually, be able to say in what part of India a text has been brought to its present form, but an historical standard remains to be discovered¹⁾.

3. The third period may be fairly termed 'historical'. The excellent Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-Tsang who visited India in the 7th century gives us an admirable account of the state of affairs just before the modern Hindu revivals. A few years later Çāṅkarācārya began the period of modern Hinduism, to be followed by many reformers. Since then a chronological history is possible, and this is the best foundation for researches into the earlier periods. When we understand Çāṅkarācārya's teaching, we can hope for some light as to what it was that he succeeded in superseding.

During this period, the Sanskrit texts left by old writers suffered alteration in many cases, and even the works of modern writers did not

1) There is great hope that the movement (set on foot by Dr. Whitley Stokes) for preserving the remaining Sanskrit MSS., may render this possible, but time may not be lost, for in a few years more hardly a MS. will be left anywhere. If carefully preserved, the South-Indian MSS. last a long time, but they are very easily destroyed. Careful people usually hang them up in a crate in the chimney (or what does for a chimney in Indian kitchens), as the smoke keeps off the white ants which infest all wood-work such as shelves. If white ants attack a palm-leaf MS., they can devour it in a few hours.

escape; but it is comparatively easy now to trace out what has been done; and for this period, if a few precautions be observed, texts can safely be used for historical purposes.

Such results will, I fear, little satisfy the majority of those who amuse themselves with Indian antiquities, and who find so many royal roads by which they discover what they wish in the past; but modern critical studies fully bear me out in this respect, at least.

I have already said that I believe that the grammatical treatises are the most accurately preserved of the literary productions of the second or (as I have termed it) the 'mythical' period. My reasons are as follows:

I have shown that the chief influences which have contributed to alter the more important texts of this period, are religious and rhetorical. It is obvious that these influences could have no effect on the grammatical treatises which belong to it. There remain alterations arising out of clerical errors—but these cannot be looked for, as the nature of these texts would not allow any great changes even in commentaries—and alterations in consequence of the adoption of improved technical terms and an improved or more developed system. These last are alone of importance, but there is less room for them than might, at first sight, be supposed. The one notable epoch in Indian grammatical studies was made by Pāṇini, but it was his work to systematize the observations of his predecessors, and this he did by aid of his *Çivasūtras* and system of *anubandhas*. This system formed the greatest contrast to the simple philosophical analysis of the Aindra grammarians, and it determined the whole course of Indian grammatical studies for the future. Thus the history of the systems of Sanskrit Grammar shows three stages—1) the primitive, natural (Aindra) system; 2) Pāṇini's artificial system; and, 3) modern adaptations of Pāṇini's system made in historic times.

Any interpolations in the older treatises which have been made after Pāṇini show this by the adoption of symbols or technical terms peculiar to him, and there can be little doubt that what has been done in this way was done before 700 A. D. As regards the text of Pāṇini it will not be safe to use it for other historical purposes, without precautions, for the reasons already given (pp. 88-9); but there is every reason to believe that it is better preserved than any other text except those of the Vedic collections. It will be safe to use it for enquiry into the history of grammatical notions in India, for in this respect there can be no doubt that it is unaltered; but it seems to me unsafe to attempt to make history out

of the words which do¹⁾ or do not occur in it; for interpolation of such, being easy, is most probable, and negative evidence, owing to the nature of the treatise, is of little value²⁾.

If it were proved that the Hindu grammarians really based their works on observation, I should end my remarks here. There is, however, one question remaining which must be asked, though, with regard to these grammarians, it may appear strange—did the Indian grammarians who have done such astonishing work always go by observation, and is there nothing fictitious (apart from symbols, imaginary roots etc.) recorded by them?

It will be safe to answer this in the negative as far as the earliest grammarians are concerned, but with the later writers on this subject, strict scrutiny is necessary; for I am able to give an account of a real grammar of a fictitious Prakrit dialect, called the Bhāṇḍirabhāṣā, which still exists, written in sūtras with a Sanskrit commentary. This curious specimen of Indian pedantry is in the Palace Library at Tanjore; the MS.³⁾ is on palm-leaves and the character used is Telugu. There is no date to it, but I cannot be far wrong in assigning it to the early part of the 17th century, and it must have been copied from an older MS.⁴⁾ The date of the composition is not ascertainable except that the commentary (which is evidently by the author⁵⁾) refers to the Pāṇiniya, Kaumāra, Kātyāyaniya and Jainendra Grammars, and the text may thus be put down as belonging to some period between 1300 and 1500 A. D. It also quotes a Vatsa.

It proceeds like nearly all Prakrit Grammars by assuming the existence of Sanskrit and that its grammar and vocabulary are known, and then gives rules for forming Bhāṇḍira words from it.

1) I have attempted to show that 'Kamboja' must be an interpolation (see my "Elements of S. Indian Palæography" p. 32) on the ground that we find it with other proper names which cannot belong to the same historical period. On this, see Profr. Weber's remarks to the contrary in his review of my book in the "Jenaer Literaturzeitung" (1875, No. 24) p. 418. M. Barth (in his review of the same in the "Revue Critique") is not more favorable to my view, and the matter is doubtful. It is remarkable that allusions to such nations as the Kambojas Yavanas etc. form part of the Indian technical system of poetry, and are regular commonplaces.

2) It need only be recollected that Pāṇini's sūtras were taught orally and committed always to memory.

3) No. 9,997 H. 46. There are 3 other copies—9,996; 9,998; 9,991 and 10,000. No. 10,001 contains a "Bhāṇḍīraliṅganirṇaya"!!

4) For it ends abruptly. If the author went so far as to write what comes to 68 quarto pages of this stuff, there is no reason why he should not finish it.

5) In one place the book is called "Bhāṇḍīravṛkṣakaraṇavṛttī" from Vāgīśvara's "Bhāṣā-mañjarī".

The source of this language (!) is thus given:

Bhāṇḍiradeṣe bhāṇḍiravataṣākhāprasārite |
 Br̥ṇḍāvanāntare Kṛishṇaḥ pūrṇānandapariplutaḥ ||
 Kāliṅga-Gauḍa-Kāmbhojā 'vāntya-Saurāshṭra-Māgadhaiḥ ||
 Mahārāshṭre ca sambhūtaiḥ sarasair gopikājanaiḥ |
 Taiḥ sahasraiḥ shoḍaṣabhiḥ paritaiḥ paribhūshitaiḥ ||
 Pariṣramam apākartum rāsakriḍām vidhāya ca |
 Bhāṇḍiratarum ācṛitya tribhaṅgishṭhānakasthitaḥ ||
 Adhaḥkarābhyām pañcamakriyācāturyalolupaḥ ||
 Cārayann ūrdhvaṇibhyām veṇunādam mṛidutvataḥ (sic) |
 Tābhis taddeṣajān rāgān ākarṇya parayā mudā ||

 gopastriparibhāshitān |
 Mṛidvālāpān samādāya rāgān so 'poshayan mudā ||

Of this, Nārada was ordered by Gopīnātha (i. e. Kṛishṇa) to compose a grammar which he did, and which he taught to Ćārdūlamuni!

Its character and purpose are given:

Ghoshāxarair yuktam api mṛidu ṣṛāvyam manoharam |
 Prakāṣārtham gītayogam bhāṇḍiram iti kathyate ||

It is, therefore, merely intended to suit certain musical purposes, but we find a most elaborate grammar which begins with modified Ćivasūtras reduced to eight:

a, i, u, n | ṛi, lṛi, k | e, o, ŋ | ai, au, c | h, y, s, r, l, ṇ |
 á, m, ŋ, ṇ, n, m | jh, bh, gh, dh, dh, j, b, g, ḍ, ḍ,
 c, ph, ch, ṭh, th, k, p, c, ṭ, t, y | ṣ, sh, s, t |

It is no real Prakrit that we have to deal with; it seems to be a mechanically formed jargon. A few examples will show the character of the alterations made:

aikhun aikhuni = ākarṇyā 'karṇya.
 kṛishṇuv ānanddu = kṛishṇasyā 'nandaḥ.
 teṇe ujali = teno 'jvalitam.
 aritu = haritaḥ. aruhu = arhaḥ. cekkam = cakram.
 Haricandaru = Hariṣcandraḥ. bhummi = bhūmiḥ—etc.

As far as I can judge, words are altered in this way to suit the Telugu ear; in that language a final -u is very usual. The C. is here and there in the Telugu language.

Besides this, an elaborate system of inflection for nouns and verbs, is given. Thus: *Rāmu* = *Rāmaḥ*; *Rāmim* = *Rāmaiḥ*; and the other cases are much the same as ordinary Prakrit, except that the final vowel seems generally made optional, and the genitive is *Rāmāsa* as well as *Rāmassa*.

√ *Bhū* is thus inflected in the present tense:

<i>Singular:</i> bhomi	<i>Plural:</i> bhoma
bhosi	bhodha
bhodi, bhoti	bhonti.

After giving Pāṇini's technical terms for the tenses the writer says: "teshām rūpam Sanskritavat sarvam tadbhavasammatāt."

It is thus evident that this Bhāṇḍirabhāṣhā is merely an artificial variety of Prakrit, but which violates the phonetic rule of the last by which kh, gh, th, dh, bh usually become h.

In the earlier Sanskrit literature there is a tendency to pervert foreign names so as to give them Indian forms or meanings (*e.g.* the Greek Menander¹) and Demetrius have become Milinda and Dattamitra²); and, occasionally, very advanced grammars (*e.g.* Yāska in his explanation of Kamboja) go very far wrong in etymological speculations, and try to turn even foreign words into Sanskrit. But this error arose out of the erroneous notion that all languages were depraved Sanskrit³), and did not at all resemble such freaks of the imagination as the Bhāṇḍirabhāṣhā.

The explanation of the creation of this fictitious language is I think to be sought in the existence of the poetical dialects (*kāvya*, *maṇipravāla*, *kavi*), which originated in the middle ages in S. India and Java, and which consist of a singular mixture of Sanskrit and vernacular words with vernacular inflections for the most part. With artificial jargons of this kind as examples, the invention of a Bhāṇḍirabhāṣhā is not incomprehensible.

The intense desire for completeness that we find everywhere in Indian treatises, and which has led to the insertion of impossible cases in treatises on law, and to impracticable sacrifices in the *Ṣrauta-sūtras*, may possibly have led the earlier grammarians astray, and they may record some unreal words and forms which analogy suggested to them; but I am not aware that there has been found, as yet, the least reason to believe this. As regards the later times, when grammatical studies had degene-

1) Childers' "Pali Dictionary," p. 247 s.v. "Milinda".

2) Weber "Über das Rāmāyaṇa" p. 77.

3) "Elements of South-Indian Palaeography," p. 85.

rated into scholasticism, it is possible (as the above example will show) that much recorded is the result of imagination. At all events, all will agree that great care is necessary to sift and test the statements of the later grammarians¹⁾.

But (except as far as I have shown already) the texts on which I have relied in the previous monograph are free from suspicion, and, apart from errors of my own, are perfectly safe premises for argument. I have relied on sūtras of Pāṇini that are supported by Patañjali explicitly or implicitly, and I believe that thus my deductions have a solid foundation.



1) Profr. Kern ("Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten", pp. 108 ff.) has given very strong reasons for considering that the gāthā dialect is no real language; but this dialect is exceptional, and we do not find any traces of it in the grammatical treatises. Where a dead language (it must be recollected) is used, as Latin was in the Middle ages, and as Sanskrit still is in India, such a jargon as the gāthās must be expected; it is, so far, a natural result of the circumstances, and in no way resembles the Bhāṇḍirabhāṣā which is purely artificial. The one occurs when a person attempts to express himself in a strange language which he knows imperfectly; the other is like thieves' cant. At all events the principles which we find in the M. Bhāṣya are perfectly sound; it is said there: "ghaṭeṇa kāryam karishyan kumbhakārakulam gatvā 'ha: kuru ghaṭam kāryam anena karishyāmi 'ti. Na tadvac obhādān prayuyuxamāpo vaiyākaraṇakulam gatvā 'ha 'kuru ṣabdān prayoxya iti'" (I. O. ed. p. 15).

It is difficult to believe that grammarians who wrote thus could have admitted anything questionable.

APPENDIX B.

IN the foregoing monograph, I have endeavoured to throw some light on the history of one of the systems of Sanskrit Grammar, and incidentally I have touched on the history of a few of the technical terms used by the grammarians. This last is a very important, but a very extensive and difficult subject; for before it can be successfully attempted, several preliminary points—such as the subject I have here discussed—must be settled, and critical editions of several important texts are yet wanted. I shall now briefly notice a point connected with it—the inflectional treatment by the grammarians of words already inflected or of fictions invented by them. I shall do little but give the results of the notices by M. Regnier¹⁾ and Profr. Weber²⁾ with additions of my own, as my object is merely to show that in this case a perceptible development can be traced which supports the conclusions at which I have arrived. The tendency is to do away gradually with real words, and to substitute fictions in their place; but these are merely nouns, for the technical syntax renders verbs absolutely unnecessary in the later sūtras.

I. As regards **letters**. In the earliest specimens of analysis of the Sanskrit phonetic system that we possess we find

a. Names of letters. Such are formed 1) by adding -kāra or -varṇa to the sound; 2) by the unchanged sound itself, *e.g.* a; 3) by adding a or some other vowel to a consonant; 4) by a special name, *e.g.* repha (r); 5) names of classes of letters are also formed by the first of the class followed by -varga.

1) "Rigveda pr." note on introductory lines to a, i.

2) "Ind. Studien" iv., pp. 91-2.

Examples of the first occur in the Brāhmaṇas and the technical words thus formed are treated and inflected like ordinary nouns¹⁾. Most of these different methods of naming sounds of the Sanskrit alphabet occur in the Prātiçākhyas. Thus:

R̥gvedaprātiçākhyā. 1) ka-kāra, etc. (iv. 6). 2) i, u, e, etc. (Introd.) 3) kakḥau, etc. (do.) da. 4) repha (i., 10). 5) çākāraca-kāravargayoḥ (iv., 4).

Taittirīyaprātiçākhyā. 1) a-kāra (i., 21); i-kāra (ii., 28); ha-kāra (i., 13); a-varṇa (vii., 5); i-varṇa, etc. (x., 4). 3) pa (iv., 30); na (iv., 32); xa (ix., 3); ta, ṭa (vii., 13); ṭha, tha (vii., 14); ra (i., 19). 4) repha (i., 19). 5) kavarga (ii., 35); cavarga (ii., 36); ṭavarga (xiv., 20). Here, also, all these terms are regularly inflected.

Kātyāyanīyaprātiçākhyā. 1) ai-kāra, au-kāra (i., 73); ṛi-kāra (i., 87); i-varṇa (i., 116). 2) uvoṣhpāḥ (i., 70); a- (i., 71). 3) ra (i., 40); nuḥ (iii., 132); this last stands for n. 4) repha (i., 40). 5) tavarga (iii., 92).

This Prātiçākhyā has also Pāṇini's et etc. which must be an interpolation; all these terms are regularly inflected¹⁾.

Atharvaprātiçākhyā. 1) akāra (i., 36); ṛi-kāra (i., 4); lakāra (i., 5); shakāra (i., 23); ṛi-varṇa (i., 37). 3) ya, ra (i., 68) ça-sha-s-eshu (ii., 6). 4) repha (i., 28). 5) cavarga (i., 7); ṭavargiye (ii., 12); caṭavargayaḥ (ii., 14). Here these terms are also treated as in the other Prātiçākhyas.

Yāska has u-kāra (p. 32).

It is in this way that the Kātantra treats the alphabetic sounds: 1) e-kāra (i., 2, 6); ça-kāra (i., 4, 3); u-varṇa (i., 2, 3); ṛi-varṇa (i., 2, 4). 2) e (i., 2, 2); e ay (i., 2, 12). 3) naḥ (i., 4, 8) ra-prakṛiti (i., 5, 14); re (i., 5, 17); ram (i., 2, 10); lam (i., 2, 11); cam (i., 4, 6); çī (or ? çe, cfr. i., 5, 6; i., 4, 13). 4) visarjanīya etc. 5) lacavarga (i., 4, 5); ṭavarga, tavarga (ii., 4, 46); ka- pavarga (ii., 5, 29). Thus the inflectional treatment is here the same as in the other works already mentioned, and as in them, we here also find compounds, *e. g.* yaralavāḥ (i., 1, 14), naṇaṇa-namāḥ (i., 1, 13), etc.

In some instances the Kātantra has the Pāṇinīyan -t; *e. g.* et, ot.

By Pāṇini's system, 1) letters affected in a similar way are collectively indicated by pratyāhāras formed out of the Çivasūtras, and these are

1) See above p. 27.

2) These terms also figure as parts of samāsa compounds: Sa-yam īkāram (R̥g. pr. xiv., 15); kakḥapa-kāra (Taitt. pr. viii., 23); sa-lakāra (Ath. pr. i., 39); ṛi-shkhau (Kāt. pr. i., 65); a-caṇau (do. i., 85); sa-ya-vaḥ (do. i., 111).

inflected like ordinary nouns ending in consonants¹⁾, and they even form parts of samāsa compounds²⁾. Again 2) to express a class of letters which are phonetically allied (*varga*) the letter -u is affixed to the first of the class, and the words thus formed are inflected like ordinary nouns in -u, and are also combined in samāsa³⁾. Lastly to indicate special letters, Pāṇini uses *A.*, for vowels: 1) the vowel followed by -t⁴⁾; 2) the vowel itself⁵⁾; in both cases inflection is allowed. *B.*, for consonants: 1) the consonant followed by -a which word is then inflected⁶⁾; 2) by a special name, *e.g.* ru (r)⁷⁾.

The use of all these several ways of referring to letters is precise, and has in each case a clearly defined purpose.

Thus if it is necessary to specially define a vowel, -t is added according to the sūtra—"taparas tatkālasya" (i., 1, 70). If the short vowel-sound is itself used, this is to include the analogous modifications. If a vowel is given with -t, it excludes all but what is actually written. Such conciseness is unknown to the earlier books. By Ṛigvedapr. i., 13 the short vowel also includes the long. Abstract nouns (*e.g.* *etva*) are formed from letters even in the Prātiçākhyas.

II. Analogous to the pratyāhāras are the symbols used by Pāṇini and treated by him in the same way. Thus we find them inflected⁸⁾, and combined in samāsa⁹⁾ just like real words.

And in some cases, such terms are still more compressed, several being formed into one¹⁰⁾.

Terminations are also inflected like real words. It is possible that this practice, as regards terminations at least, is older than Pāṇini¹¹⁾.

1) *e.g.* *ikaḥ* (gen. s.) i., 1, 8; *halaḥ* (nom. pl.) i., 1, 7; *aj-jhalsu* (dual nom.) i., 1, 10; *ecaḥ* (gen. s.) i., 1, 48; *yaṇaḥ* (do.) i., 1, 45; *alaḥ* (do.) i., 1, 52; *acaḥ* (i., 1, 57); *aci* (i., 1, 59); *acām* (i., 1, 73).

2) *e.g.* *ekāl*—i., 2, 41. *ekāo*, i., 1, 14. In all cases the rules relating to the use of the plural and dual are accurately observed where such words are in samāsa.

3) *e.g.* *cuṭū*—1, 8, 7.

4) *e.g.* *īdūtau*—i., 1, 19.

5) *e.g.* of *ṛi*, *uḥ* (gen. sing.) i., 1, 51 etc.; *vy-upadhaḥ* (i., 2, 26); *a a* (viii., 4, 68); *ai* (iii., 4, 90).

6) *maḥ* (viii., 3, 23); *māt* (i., 1, 12); *ra-para* (i., 1, 51); *naḥ* and *ṇaḥ* (viii., 4, 1); *ra-shā-bhyām* (do.).

7) *viii.*, 2, 66 etc.

8) *e.g.* *jas-i* (i., 1, 32); *itā* (i., 1, 71); *nīṭḍavaḥ* (i., 2, 5); *līngaḥ* (iii., 4, 102); *leṭaḥ* (iii., 4, 94). This is done with pure symbols, and also with symbols composed of a termination etc. with *anubandhas*.

9) *e.g.* *lukḷulup-aḥ* (i., 1, 61).

10) *kkñit-i* (i., 1, 5).

11) *e.g.* *Bhīr-bhyām-para* (Taitt. pr. viii., 14). *Rau-dvivacanānta* (Ath. pr. ii., 47).

Symbolic terms appear to have been nearly all invented by Pāṇini; but few occur in treatises of the older school, and there as interpolations. Such being the case, they are inflected as in Pāṇini's Grammar.

The symbols used in the Kātantra are inflected in exactly the same way¹).

III. It is possible to trace the gradual separation of roots from the words in which they appear, as the Brāhmaṇas, which are unquestionably older (except perhaps the Gopathabrāhmaṇa) than any grammatical treatises that we possess, frequently discuss the etymology of words. I have already²) given some specimens of these primitive attempts; they do not follow any regular system, but nevertheless show that roots were even then clearly distinguished.

Roots (in the ordinary sense of the word) are not given in the Niṣhaṇṭus, but verbs are nearly always given in the third person of the present tense, and are classified according to meaning³). Yāska terms these forms dhātu; but he, again, by no means follows any uniform system. For the most part he gives the third person to express the root⁴), but sometimes he uses a verbal noun for the same purpose⁵). There can be no doubt, however, that he fully recognised the identity of the root though it appears in various forms in some cases. Thus (Naig. ii., 1—p. 40) he says: "Tad yeshu padeshu svarasamskārau samarthau prādeçikena guṇenā 'nvitau syātām tathā tāni nirbrūyād; athā 'nanvite 'rthe 'prādeçike vikāre 'rthanityaḥ parixeta kenacid vṛttisāmānyenā, 'vidyamāne sāmānye 'py axaravarṇasāmānyān nirbrūyān; na tv eva na nirbrūyān. Na samskāram ādriyeta, viçayavatyo hi vṛttayo bhavanti. Yathārtham vibhaktiḥ samnamayet: prattam avattam iti dhātvādī eva çishyete. Athā 'py aster nivṛttisthāneshv ādilopo bhavati: staḥ santi 'ty. Athā 'py antalopo bhavati: gatvā gatam ity. Athā 'py upadhālopo bhavati: jagmatur jagmur ity. Athā 'py upadhāvikāro bhavati: rājā daṇḍī 'ty. Athā 'pi varṇalopo bhavati: tat tvā yāmī 'ty. Athā 'pi dvivarṇalopas: ṛica ity. Athā 'py ādiviparyayo bhavati: jyotir ghano bindur vātya ity. Athā 'py ādyantaviparyayo bhavati: stokā rajjuḥ sikatās tarkv iti." This

1) e. g. dhuṭ (ii., 1, 18); dhuṭi (ii., 1, 19); jaçasau (ii., 1, 4); jasi (ii., 1, 15); siḥ (ii., 1, 5); niḥ (ii., 1, 27). In a very few instances there is no inflection expressed.

2) Above p. 27.

3) ii., 6, 14, 18, 19; iii., 14, 20, 21, 22. etc. ofr. Naig. p. 55 fig.

4) e. g. çaknoteḥ (p. 32); mamhateḥ (p. 33); hanteḥ (do.); kashateḥ (p. 40), etc. Hundreds of examples could be given.

5) See e. g. the various etymologies of Niṣhaṇṭu (on p. 31).

passage and the following lines show clearly how far Pāṇini's great predecessor had got in matter of technical system.

Yāska inflects the third person sing. pres. par. in just the same way as the author of the Prātiçākhyas, as I shall now show.

The Ṛigveda-prātiçākhyā has both grammatical roots (*e.g.* *vṛitu*)¹⁾ and also the third person singular of the present again inflected or turned into a noun, which serves the same purpose—*dhātor bibhēter jayater niyaç ca*²⁾. In this last instance the two first-mentioned roots are given in this way, as is most commonly done, in this Prātiçākhyā, and the last only is given in what is now the usual form.

The Taittirīya pr. gives roots in a single instance 'cha-khi-bhujeshu'³⁾; in the Kātyāyana pr. there are many instances: *a*) where roots have an inflectional -a, -i, or -u added, *e.g.* *sade* (iii., 48), *vṛidha* (iii., 112), *sahe* (iii., 121), *çase* (iii., 122), *ruhau* (iv., 44), *vāhau* (iii., 44), *vāmsau* (v., 11); *b*) where the consonant ending is left unaltered—*vṛidhavṛijo* (iii., 112), *styāstano* (iii., 68), *anindho* (v., 33); *c*) where the third person (sing. pres. par.) is again inflected: *pātau* (iii., 27), *siñcatau* (iii., 45), *sīdate* (iii., 58), etc.⁴⁾

The Atharva-prātiçākhyā agrees in this respect with Kātyāyanaprātiçākhyā; we find in it—with -a: *kṛipe* (i., 64),—with i: *hani-gamyo* (i., 86), *vide* (i., 90),—with the natural final consonant: *çān-mān-dān-ām* (i., 87). There are also instances of the third pers. sing. present par. inflected: *rājatau* (ii., 36), *a-jahāte* (ii., 46).

In the Kātantra we find both 1) the third person sing. pres. par. as well as 2) roots, both used for the same purposes, *e.g.* 1) *karote* (ii., 4, 49); 2) *e.g.* *gup, tij, kit* (iii., 2, 2); *mān, badh, dān, çān* (iii., 2, 3), *cur-ādi* (iii., 2, 11), *bhī-hri-bhṛi-huv-ām* (iii., 2, 21). It will be observed that all the forms of roots noticed as yet are what may be termed natural and are such as would be easily noticed from their use as adjectives etc.

Pāṇini's treatment of these roots is not quite consistent, but he uses 1) the old forms (3rd pers. sing. pres. par.) in only a few instances; in all the remaining cases—an immense number—he uses 2) roots and special forms, or—and this is an improvement of his own—3) in dhātu-pāṭha forms, or with indicatory letters added. For example: 1) *indhi-bha-*

1) ix., 2.

2) xiv., 16.

3) xiv., 8.

4) "Ind. Studien," iv., pp. 91-2.

vati-bhyām (i., 2, 6); ety-edhaty-ūth-su (vi., 1, 89); and inflected—eter liṅgi (vii., 4, 24). 2) To these he adds vowels to facilitate inflection—*a*.—Mṛīḍa-mṛīḍa-gudha-kusha-kliṣa-vada-vas-aḥ (i., 2, 7). *i*.—grahi, svapi (i., 2, 8); gami, śricchi (i., 3, 29). *u*.—ūrṇu (i., 2, 3). In svid etc. (i., 2, 19) the natural consonant ending is left, and in dī-dhī-ve-vīt-ām (i., 1, 6) the roots are in their natural form. 3) *e.g.* cīn (i., 2, 19); pūn (i., 2, 22). But the roots are seldom in their dhātupāṭha forms: *e.g.* sthā is usually put, and not shṭhā. Such roots are all inflected: *e.g.* daḥ (from √dā) in i., 3, 20; jeḥ from √ji (i., 3, 19); bruvaḥ (vii., 3, 93) from √brū.

It thus appears that before Pāṇini the grammarians understood by dhātu: 1) parts of the verb, especially the third person singular present parasmaipada which seems to be the form earliest thus used technically, and 2) natural roots. Pāṇini finally added roots such as we find in the dhātupāṭha. The Uṇādi sūtras follow the same system as Pāṇini in every way.

IV. The grammarians also inflect words already inflected or words which are naturally uninflected; and this appears in the earliest treatises, *e.g.* the Prātiçākhyas. The most common instance is the use of the third person singular of the present tense of verbs as already described¹; next come inflections of indeclinable words—particles and prepositions.

In the Taittiriya pr. we find āy-am (ix., 14), āv-am (ix., 15), ar-am (x., 8), and ār-am (x., 9) as inflections of the sounds āy etc., but this prātiçākhyas generally gives concrete examples, and these are not treated by inflection.

The Kātyāyana- and Atharva-prātiçākhyas furnish many more examples. In the former we find: dyaveḥ, as genitive of dyavi (iii., 67); stuvantīyām, as locative of stuvantī (iii., 70); teshu, as loc. plur. of te (iii., 119); neḥ, as gen. of ni (iii., 58); kṛidhau, as loc. of kṛidhi (iii., 32); tataxau (iii., 69); vājāyānteshu (iii., 98) etc., and even some words are left uninflected.

In the latter we find: śat-puras-oḥ (i., 63); īyas-aḥ (i., 89); pumsaḥ-*i.e.* of the word pums (i., 81). Pāṇini (viii., 3, 6) has pumaḥ.

The Kātantra occasionally furnishes words with a secondary inflection (*e.g.* alam-khalv-oḥ (last section, 1).

Pāṇini, however, carried this practice to a surprising extent; with him, every kind of word, real or artificial, inflected already or not in-

1) This is even done by the mediæval commentators occasionally.

flected, everything is capable of inflection. Thus *e.g.* āñāḥ (i., 3, 28); samāḥ (i., 3, 29); itau (i., 1, 16); taraptamapau (i., 1, 22); asmado (i., 2, 59); neḥ (i., 3, 17); parivyavebhyaḥ (i., 3, 18); adheḥ (i., 3, 33); adaso (i., 1, 12); ṣe (i., 1, 13); uñāḥ (i., 1, 17) etc.

There is a curious circumstance connected with this grammar of artificial words as developed by the Indian grammarians—the use of gender as applied to these terms. It seems arbitrary—being masculine apparently—not neuter as one would expect.

As will have been noticed in some of the above examples, the rules of sandhi are often neglected in the case of grammatical fictions, and this course is obviously necessary to preserve the integrity of the symbols in question. Thus we find unādi where we should expect unṇādi, and the declension of such words as end in -s or a consonant is necessarily somewhat irregular. The Ṣākāṭāyanavyākaraṇa displays more such irregularities than Pāṇini.

The technical syntax of the grammatical technical language is also an important subject; as I have already remarked (p. 43), it appears to have been almost created by Pāṇini. The sūtras which regulate this part of his technical system are i., 1, 49-50, 66 and 67. The Ṣākāṭāyanavyākaraṇa follows much the same system (i., 1, 57-60); but, apparently, in order to make the sūtras more concise we here find a new irregularity, and compound words are always in the singular number.

There is very little of this in the Aindra treatises. The R̥gvedaprāti-ṣākhya (i., 14) gives one such rule (“asāv amum iti tadbhāvam uktam”) by which the letter to be changed is put in the nominative and the resulting letter in the accusative. This is done in the Kātantra, Kātyāyana-pr. (iii., 6-7 etc.) and Taittirīya-pr. (*e.g.* v., 20). Pāṇini, on the other hand, puts the letter to be changed in the genitive, and the result in the nominative, in which the Atharva-pr. (*e.g.* iii., 44) mostly concurs, though the older system is sometimes used also (*e.g.* iii., 46 and 52). A comparison of the rules in the Kātantra and Pāṇini, by which i, u, etc. before a etc. become y, v, etc., will make this very plain. In Pāṇini (vi., 1, 77) the rule simply is: “iko yaṇ aci”. In the Kātantra four rules (i., 2, 8-11) are found: “ivarno yam”....; “vam uvarṇaḥ”; “ram ṛivarṇaḥ”; “lam ṛivarṇaḥ”. In both cases it is obvious that this technical syntax has arisen out of abbreviations. Thus in the first the full sentence would be: “ikaḥ (sthāne) yaṇ aci (pare)”¹. In the last it would be:

¹ Such a complete expression occurs in the R̥gv. pr. *e.g.* xiv., 15.

“ivarno yam (āpadyate)”. This use of the locative case seems to be as early as that of the accusative, for it occurs in the Ṛigvedaprātiçākhyā and in the other similar works; but Pāṇini’s rule (i., 1, 66) gives it a precise meaning, and fits it into his system.

The above will give some slight idea of the numerous problems which yet remain to be worked out in respect of Indian Grammar; some of these, such as the history of the notion of ‘vikaraṇa’, are of great interest, but I must leave them for the present.



Additions and Corrections.

Page: Line:

- 6 14 For: third section read: second section
 " 22 " Aindri " Aindrī
 " note 4 Add: Profr. Weber ("Ind. Studien" xiii., p. 835) points out a passage much like this in the Taitt. S. vi., 4. 7. 3. The only C. now accessible to me—that by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara—throws no light on this passage as far as my present object is concerned.
- 8 2 For: such a book read: such a book or books
 9 28 " Kaccāyanappakaraṇae " Kaccāyanappakaraṇae
 10 2 " Eḷuttaḍiṃyāram " Eḷuttaḍiṃyāram
 12 14 Add: urliśōl is probably a translation of guṇavacana, a term that is used in the Ṣabdamanidarpana (Canarese).
- 13 33 For: upsarga read: upasarga
 " 40 " laxaṇā " laxaṇa
 15 32 " kṛp " -kṛp
 16 2 Add: The M. Bhāṣhya (Benares ed. p. 7, b.) has three sthānas.
 " note 10 " saptamī occurs in Yāska (p. 37) etc.
 " " 11 " cfr. M. Bhāṣhya, f. 9 b.
 17 9 For: vipai read: vinai
 " after 23 Add: The Tamil has iḍam 'place' for person; so we find (in Yāska etc.) sthāna used with the same meaning.
 " note 5 Read: bhūta-bhaviṣhyad-vartamānāḥ.
- 19 note Lṅga Lṅga
 23 8 Add: Yāska uses upadhā in the original sense (p. 40).
 " 18 For: older read: oldest
- 25 note 2, line 7 " °rūpāni " °rūpāni
 26 note, line 8 " udao " udao
 27 13 " çixukāḥ " çixakāḥ
 " 22 " oshṭya° " oshṭhya°
 " 23 " nāmam " nāman
 28 note 2 " Siddhānta° " Siddhānta°
 29 14 " au ā " au ā
- 32 Add: N. after Gārgya; for Mācākīya read Mācākīya
 35 4-5 For: which are anterior to read: some of which are probably anterior to
 40 note 3 Add: India Office ed. p. 1872 (vol. iii.).
 44 21 The Indian accounts of Pāṇini (as of many other famous men in Sanskrit literary history) closely resemble the mediæval notions of Vergil's life.
- 45 19 For: have read: leave
 47 14 " Prātiçākhyas " Prātiçākhyas
 48 16 " R̥gveda° " R̥gveda°
 49 21 Add: There is another C. by Annambhaṭṭa; see "Ind. Studien" iv., p. 332.
 52 21 For: Caitrakuṭi read: Caitrakuṭi

Page: Line:

- 65 *Add:* It should be remarked that it was a fortunate circumstance that the Sanskrit Grammar could be, more or less, applied to agglutinative or monosyllabic languages; had Sanskrit been of the Semitic type, this important instrument of progress would have remained useless.
- 75 18 *Add:* Clerical errors often seriously alter proper names (see Féer's "Études Bouddhiques" p. 373 of the "*Journal Asiatique*" vol. v. of Series vii.); palæography, only, can here demonstrate the true reading.
- 78 29 *For:* bhujayān *read:* bhujaṅgān
- 81 31 " Vetālapañcaviṃṣatī, Çukasaptatī " ²viṃṣatī, ²saptatī
- 87 11 *Add:* I should have added 'san' (li. 86) which is also used by Pāṇini as a name of the desiderative (li., 4, 47; vi., 4, 16 etc.) as Profr. Whitney remarks in his commentary on this sūtra.
- " 33 *For:* a. *read:* e.
- 92 18 though his excellent though this excellent
- 95 5 *Add:* The words in () are additions of the Grantha text; the Nāgarī text has only "vṛiçcikṛiṣhyoḥ kikan".
- 98 27 *For:* (i., 1) and (i., 2) *read:* (i., 1, 11) and (i., 3, 11)
- 100 3 " nearly " merely
- 103 19-20 " A. D. " B. C.
- 109 17 " grammars " grammarians

As on former occasions, I must urge as my apology for misprints, irregularities of transcription and other errors, the circumstances that I am several hundred miles away from the Press (communication with which is very slow), and that what I do, is done under constant interruptions of every possible kind.

I hope that I have not left uncorrected any serious error likely to embarrass my readers.



BOUND BY
L. Joshua
Mangalore.